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THE FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY IN UTAH, 1848-1865.

THE FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY IN UTAH 30-10-1919

By

Laura Laurenson Byrne

A.B. (Bryn Mawr College) 1912.

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Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of
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THE MASTER OF ARTS

Chapter II. Early Contact of the Utah Indians
in

with the Santa Fe

THE HISTORY

The American Indians

THE GRADUATE DIVISION

The War of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Chapter III. December, 1919. The Utah Indians

with the Mexicans

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THE FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY IN UTAH 1848-1865.

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THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE
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INTRODUCTION.

The government documents containing the official reports concerning the Indians in Utah make the federal policy towards these Indians appear conspicuous by its absence. Indeed, the term policy seems a misnomer, for frequent and repeated appeals to Congress for aid and attention give evidence of continued inactivity on the part of the government. Instance after instance of the need and misery of the Indians, and of their conflict with a constantly encroaching white population brought no effective response from Congress. From the outset the reports show an Indian problem characterized by complications due to the California and Oregon immigration, and to the Mormon settlement. But, absorbed apparently in other and more pressing affairs, the distant Congress seems to have adopted a laissez-faire policy in the case of Utah, if let-alone tactics may be termed a policy.

Before examining the instances that give weight to this conclusion, an account of Utah and its Indians will aid in an understanding of the various conditions

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The Government documents maintaining the official reports concerning the Indians in Utah with the Federal Police reports these Indians appear contradictory to the same. Indeed, the two policy areas a minimum, for treatment and treatment reports to Congress for the and attention give evidence of continued hostility on the part of the Government. Indeed, after passage of the Act and study of the Indians, and of their condition with a completely new situation while the Indians find on effective response from Congress. From the outset the results show an Indian problem characterized by some conditions due to the Indians and their treatment, and to the Indian situation. The Indian situation is often not more pressing affairs. The Indian situation appears to have adopted a laissez-faire policy in the case of Utah, it is not our intention to be a policy. Indeed, regarding the Indians, the Government has given weight to their condition, on account of the fact that the Indians will not be as well-served as the various conditions.

that created a special problem for the government of this Territory. Then, in detailing at length the history of the Utah Indians, this thesis will endeavor to account for the federal policy in Utah and briefly to relate it to government policy toward Indians in general. Summary. The most comprehensive geographical features of Utah are its great altitude, extensive desert areas, snow-capped mountains and fertile river valleys. The following description of Utah by a writer in 1880 gives a vivid idea of this home of the Indians:

Utah Great Basin, about five hundred miles in diameter. High above the sea level, between the Rocky and Sierra Nevada ranges, lies a vast plateau, about 5,000 feet above sea level, between the Rocky and Sierra Nevada ranges. It bears the character of a desert. The only fertile districts to be found are at the base of the mountains, where the soil is rich and the climate is mild. In the center of the basin there is no water. In the vicinity of the mountains the water is found in small streams, which flow to the north and west until it reaches the mountains. The soil here is fertile and is used for agricultural purposes. In the north there is only

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general.

...

Chapter I.

UTAH AND ITS INDIANS

The Country. The most conspicuous geographical features of Utah are its great altitude, extensive desert area, snow-capped mountains and fertile river valleys. The following description of Utah by a writer in 1855 gives a vivid idea of this home of the Indians:

"The Great Basin, about five hundred miles in diameter, lies more than four thousand feet above sea level, between the Wasatch and Nevada Mountains. It bears the character of a desert. The only fertile districts to be found are at the base of the mountains which rise to a height of about three thousand feet. In the centre of the basin there is no water. In the vicinity of the Salt Lake the country is level rising imperceptibly to the north and west until it reaches the mountains. The soil here is sandy and cannot be employed for agricultural purposes. To the north there is only

1. I received

[illegible]

a narrow strip of arable land between the Lake and the mountains. To the east things are rather better. To the south are the lovely valleys of the Jordan and the Tuilla, well watered and covered with rich grass. When it rains in the valleys, snow frequently lies in the ravines to the depth of a hundred feet. The pasture land in the valley bottoms is adapted to agriculture. Potatoes ... and turnips flourish. If we assume that the acre of ploughed land will yield two thousand rounds of wheat flour, each square mile will support about four thousand persons, deducting one half for pasturage, and thus covering the demand for meat. The territory . . . can support a million souls.

"In central Utah there are three salt lakes, the largest of which is so strongly impregnated with salt that persons bathing in its waters only sink in to their shoulders. . . . At various spots springs of different temperature are found close together, some hot, some cold, some saline - others sulphuric or containing iron, while others are good for drinking."

Exploring Utah, Vol. 4, 2nd Series, 1889.
The Western Explorer, Vol. 5, 311.

a narrow strip of arid land between the lake and the
mountains. The two main things are water power. To
the south are the lovely valleys of the Jordan and the
Taurus, well watered and covered with rich grass. In
it rains in the valleys, most frequently lies in the
ravines / the south of a hundred feet. The valleys
land in the valley bottom is adapted to agriculture.
Fertile... and fertile (Jordan). It is a narrow strip
and some of the best land will yield two thousand bushels
of wheat there, each acre with this wheat about
four thousand bushels, depending on the soil for wheat
and thus covering the demand for wheat. The fertility
and supports a higher price.

The central part there are three hills, the
largest of which is an irregularly shaped mountain with
a flat top and a steep slope in the north only and
in its center. ... At various points along
of highest peaks are found some of the
most hot, some cold, some warm - some of the
most beautiful view, with great and good for
drinking.

"The mountains and valleys are thronged with game -- bears, panthers, antelopes, stags, hares. Trout and pike are in the rivers. In the ozier beds of the salt marshes are ducks and geese; on the islands of the lakes are pelicans, herons, mews and cranes. There is a great deficiency of wood. In the plain, the cotton-wood is the sole representative of the vegetable world. In the mountains are small forests of firs, cedars, dwarf maples and oaks. The more open districts are exposed to the fires lighted by the Indians to kill and roast the grasshoppers which they collect in summer and which they devour in winter. ... The atmosphere in the valley is extremely healthy ... In summer the mirage is frequently seen in the desert."¹

Abundant game and fish, combined with the long, cold winters, tended to make the Indian inhabitants nomadic, and dependent on hunting for subsistence.

¹
Littell's Living Age, Vol.X, 2" Series, 1855,
"The Mormons in Utah," pp. 530-531.

The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors of the American Red Cross, for the year 1917-1918. The names are given in alphabetical order of the surnames. The names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors of the American Red Cross, for the year 1917-1918, are given in alphabetical order of the surnames. The names of the persons who have been appointed to the various committees of the Board of Directors of the American Red Cross, for the year 1917-1918, are given in alphabetical order of the surnames.

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THE AMERICAN RED CROSS
1917-1918

The Indians. The Indians of Utah belonged to the Shoshone family, which consisted of two great factions — the Snakes, or Shoshones proper, and the Utns. The Snakes formerly inhabited southeast Oregon, Idaho, western Montana and the northern parts of Utah and Nevada; they were sub-divided into several small tribes, and included the more considerable nation of the Bannocks. The Utns occupied nearly the whole of Utah and Nevada and extended into Arizona and California, on each side of the Colorado River.¹ Their chief tribes were the Pah-Utes or Py-utes, and Gosh-utes or Goshutes, the Pi-Etes, the Uinta-Utes, and Yam-Pah-Utes. The word Utah originated with the people inhabiting the mountain region early in the seventeenth century when New Mexico was first talked of by the Spanish conquerors. Pah means water; Pah-gumpe, salt water or salt lake; Pah-Utes, Indians that live about the water. Of various spellings — Yuta (Spanish); Youta; Utns; Utn and Utn, the last was the finally accepted one.²

¹ Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. I, pp. 422 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, History of Utah, pp. 34-35.

The Shoshones are described as below medium stature; the Utahs, as more powerfully built but coarser featured and less agile. Their houses were primitive, often made of brush, semi-circular, and roofless. Sometimes a cave was their residence. The Snakes made better shift by forming a conical tent out of skins stretched on long poles. Both tribes were remarkably dirty in dwelling and habits. The Snakes dressed better than the Utahs, using skins of large animals, ornamented with heads, shells, fringes and feathers, and since acquaintance with the whites, with pieces of brilliant colored cloth. Buckskin shirt, leggins and moccasins made a common costume, over which was thrown a heavy robe of fur, buffalo, wolf, deer, elk or beaver. In warm weather most of their clothing was discarded.

They were versed in the art of pottery. Agriculture was not developed; in the less fertile parts of Utah, the tribes were sometimes reduced to root-eating, to pine nuts, reptiles and insects. To avoid starvation they have been known to eat dead bodies and even to kill¹ their children for food. As a rule they had no boats;

¹
Bancroft, Hubert Howe, Native Races, I, p. 428.

they crossed the rivers by fording, swimming or constructing a clumsy raft. Horses constituted their wealth; these, dried fish, skins or furs were used in barter. They were very deliberate traders. They had their games and trials of strength and skill. They were especially skillful in riding; a horse-hair lariat served as a bridle; only older people used saddles like those of the white men. Gambling and drinking were frequent. They had no intoxicants themselves but enjoyed the white man's fire-water whenever available. The custom of ratifying a peace treaty by a grand smoke, common to many of the North American Indians, was observed by these tribes.

The tools of these Indians before iron and steel were introduced by the whites, were of flint, bone or horn, from which knives and wedge-shaped hatchets were made, and used to fell trees. They made water-proof baskets of hide and of grass.

Their weapons were the bow and arrow; spears were used in fishing, and clubs were the general tool and weapon of the poorer tribes. Shields possessing especial virtue from the medicine men were valuable articles

of the Snakes' equipment. Only one instance is recorded of a Utah having a shield. The tribes that had horses always fought mounted. Warfare was, of course, extremely cruel, accompanied by torture, scalping, and killing of prisoners.

The chief's power was limited, being merely advisory; no fixed laws to punish murder or other offences. The Utahs did not hesitate to sell wives and children into slavery. Many were sold to Navahoes for blankets. Polygamy, though common, was not universal. To the women fell the hardest work; as is usual among nomadic Indians, the old and infirm were abandoned at pleasure.

Reports differ concerning the general character of the Snakes and Utahs. The better Shoshone tribes are described as brave and cunning, fierce and war-like, as dishonest and treacherous, and again as peaceful and industrious. The Utahs are described as brave and fierce, industrious and crafty; the Pah-Utes in particular, as docile, kind and unwarlike. The Bannocks were considered treacherous and dangerous; the poorer Shoshones, ignorant and degraded, subsisting on grass and insects in the spring, after a winter spent in semi-torpor in holes in the ground.

But they were lovers of their country, even the inhospitable ruins and barren plains and have been known to pine away and die when forced to remain in civilization among the whites.

So much for a general description of the Indians of Utah. More intimate acquaintance with them develops in the government reports as we shall see from time to time.

Meanwhile, for a more thorough understanding of the region which the United States took over from Mexico in 1848, a resume of the previous contact between the Indians and the white race will not be out of place.

The early white traders, who came here, were in 1776, the two Frenchmen, Father, Father, and Father, who were looking for a direct route from Santa Fe to Mexico. After California, they made their way north to the San Juan River. They found no more buildings like the ones in Santa Fe. But they found two or three small towns, but none of the grandeur of Santa Fe.

Spanish Exploration in the Southern United States, 1512-1800, pp. 101-102, 103.

But they were leaders of their country, men of
intelligence and not without power and have been
to him very and his name known to people in
the world the world.

On such day a general assembly of the
of them. They had been assembled with the
in the presence of the people of the world
time.

Meanwhile, they were always remembered of
the people with the same spirit and the same
to the world, a world of the people of the world
the world and the world will be the world.

Chapter II.

EARLY CONTACT OF THE UTAH INDIANS WITH THE WHITE RACE.

The Spaniards. The earliest recorded visit of white men to what is now Utah was in connection with the expedition of the great Spanish explorer, Coronado, when in search of the fabled rich Seven Cities of Cíbola. In 1541, Coronado sent a party under Captain García López de Cárdenas along the Colorado river where it flows through southern Utah and Arizona. Cárdenas entered only the extreme southern portion of Utah and the Indians met there have been identified with the Cocopa, a Yuman tribe, whose descendants still inhabit the lower Colorado outside the ¹limits of Utah.

The next white visitors, again Spaniards, were in 1776, the two Franciscan friars, Vélez Escalante and Francisco Domínguez. Searching for a direct route from Santa Fe to Monterey, Alta California, they made their way north as far as Utah Lake. They found no town buildings like the Moquis and Zuñis, but wild Indians who at first were afraid, but when assured of the friendliness

¹ Spanish Explorations in the Southern United States, 1512-1543, pp. 133 et. seq.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1789 TO 1861

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of the strangers, welcomed them kindly and gave them food. They were simple-minded and inoffensive, these native Yutas, ready to guide the travellers whithersoever they would go; they begged the fathers to return and establish a mission in their midst.

Winter coming, provisions low, and no news of a route to the sea being obtained from the savages, the explorers turned southwest and east, back to Santa Fé.¹ At that time Utah was considered too remote for a mission. The region between Pimería, the Colorado River, Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico, needed yet to be explored.² So Utah remained undisturbed and the Indians untouched by the romance and the civilization of the early missions.

The American Fur Traders. With the coming of the American fur traders to the west, the Red Men of Utah again made the acquaintance of foreigners. In the beaver country of the Utahs, four trading posts were established. They were Fort Bridger, Robidoux's two posts on the Uintah and Gunnison rivers, and Fort Davy Crockett in Brown's Hole. One of the earliest notices

¹ Bancroft, H.H., History of Utah, p.12. See MS-10.

² Chapman,^{c.v} The Founding of Spanish California, p.399.

to the extreme, although this study has been
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of the Bannocks is the pursuit of one of their bands in 1824 by a party under James Bridger for the purpose of retaking some horses they had stolen. It was the adventurous fur-traders of the west who gave their names to Sweetwater River, Independence Rock, Jacksons Hole, and to the tributaries of Green River and Great Salt Lake. They discovered this lake and also South Pass. They were the first to travel from Great Salt Lake southwesterly to Southern California, the first to cross the Sierras and the deserts of Utah and Nevada. 1

Of Captain Bonneville, the French trader and explorer in the United States Army, whose activities were largely in Utah, the historian Chittenden says, in contradiction to Bancroft, that

"if there is one characteristic of the expedition more prominent than another it was the humane treatment which Captain Bonneville always accorded the natives. 2

Speaking of the effect of the American fur traders upon the Indians in general, Chittender says further:

¹ Chittenden, H.M., The History of the American Fur Trader, vol. I, 4-33.

² Ibid., (Preface, vol.I, p.X)

the Indians in general, California and Texas:

Speaking of the effect of the war upon the Indians when

the war was over.

California and Texas, California and Texas, California

and Texas, California and Texas, California and Texas

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"It is difficult to estimate the degree to which the fur trade was controlled by the Indians, while its far reaching counter-influence upon the tribes cannot, at this remote time, be adequately realized. The relation of the trader to the Indian was the most natural and congenial of any which the two races have ever sustained toward each other. Properly conducted it fitted perfectly with the Indians' previous mode of life, really promoted his happiness and gave him no cause for complaint. It enabled him to pursue his natural occupation of hunting, while it introduced just enough of the civilized customs of exchange to furnish him with those simpler articles which directly promoted the comfort of his daily life."

But that the fur trade did not always furnish ideal relations between white and Indians even Utah gave evidence. Though the fur trade is not closely related to the Indian problem there, its results are seen in the attitude of the Indians toward subsequent explorers Colonel Fremont who passed Fort Uintah in June 1844 on his second exploration recorded that the fort was attacked shortly afterward by the Utah Indians, and all its garrison massacred except Robidoux who happened

[illegible][illegible]

¹
to be absent. This is the only instance of a successful attack by the Indians upon a trading post of the west.²

³
Frémont describes the Indians of Utah as "wild men" but for all that rather sophisticated, though the country was still largely unknown to the white man. He met the Utah chief, Walker, and his band all well mounted and carrying rifles. They were robbers of a high order, conducting their depredations upon immigration under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country. They did not attack and kill, they affected to purchase taking the horses they liked and giving something nominal in return.⁴ Describing the Utah Indians further, Frémont says:

"From all that I heard and saw, I should say that humanity appeared there in its lowest form and in the most elementary state. Dispersed in single families, without fire-arms, eating seeds and insects, digging roots - such is the condition

¹ Frémont, John C., *Memoirs of My Life*, p. 395.

² Chittenden, vol. III, p. 971.

³ Frémont, J.C., *Memoirs of My Life*, p. 438.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

1. *Staphylococcus aureus*

"From all that I have seen, I would say

of the greater part - others are a degree higher, and live in communities upon some lake or river that supplies fish, and from which they repulse the miserable Digger."¹

Fremont further records friendly relations with the Utah Indians and contrasts the comparative security in which he traveled through their country with the guarded vigilance necessary among the Sioux and other Indians east of the Rockies.¹

The Immigrants. Following the era of the fur traders came that of the immigrants. The earlier immigrants to Oregon and California, those of 1841, for the most part passed through leaving no mark. They came by the usual route up the Platte, along the Sweet-water and through South Pass to Bear River Valley. When near Soda Springs those for Oregon went north to Fort Hall while those for California followed Bear River southward until within ten miles of Great Salt Lake when they turned westward to find Ogden River.²

The Mormons. Not till the Mormon immigration beginning in 1847, did the Utah Indians know any permanent

1

Fremont, John Charles, Reports of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842. Washington, Blair & Rives, printers, 1845, p. 161.

2

Bancroft, Utah -pp. 28-29.

of the present day - others are a further thing,
and live in conditions of great poverty
and misery, and from which they receive
the Atlantic Ocean.

Thomas Jefferson records various relations with
the Indians and describes the comparative security
of which he enjoyed through their country with the
frontier states, among the Indians and along
the coast of the Atlantic.

The Indians. Following the war of the

Revolution and that of the Indians. The Indian

population of the United States at 1800 was

the most part Indian, living in the

area of the United States in the United States.

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The Indians. Following the war of the

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population of the United States at 1800 was

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contact with the white race. Unlike all previous intruders, the Mormons came to settle. Fleeing the persecution that had attended them in the civilized United States, because of their peculiar religion, under the leadership of Brigham Young, their president they chose an unchartered¹, almost unknown region beyond the authority of the United States where they could break ground, and build up their own political and religious institutions for themselves. On July 24th, the first settlement was made in^{the} Valley of Great Salt Lake. Fortunately they settled on the war grounds of the Snakes and Utahs, that is, on neutral ground,¹ and so they were not resisted.

The Mormon Indian Policy. The Indian policy of the founders of Utah is summed up in a remark made by Brigham Young, "It is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them."² Hence, their intercourse was generally peaceable. They taught them how to till their lands; they assured them that they would suffer no wrong, but they also told them if they inflicted wrong, punishment³ would follow.

¹ Littell, Living Age -1855, p. 531.

² Whitney, Orson F., Popular History of Utah, p. 97.

³ Bancroft, H.H., History of Utah, p. 472.

By the time that Utah, still unmapped came under the authority of the United States, along with California, New Mexico and all the vast western territory at the close of the Mexican War, in 1848, the Mormon population¹ in the Valley of Great Salt Lake numbered five thousand. Thus, the contact of the Indians of Utah with the Mormons forms an important chapter in the history of the federal Indian policy in Utah.

¹ Bancroft, H.H., History of Utah, p. 284.

By the time that the first American war ship
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 first of the American war in 1898, the American
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History of the United States ship with California

Chapter III.

EARLY RELATIONS OF THE UTAH INDIANS WITH THE MORMONS.

Spreading north and south, the Mormons soon began to encroach on lands which the Indians used for fishing and hunting. The Shoshones threatened an attack, but made none. Not so the Utes.¹ In April came the first reports of hostilities. Vasquez and Bridger, traders of the American Fur Company, who for five years had been proprietors of Fort Bridger,² wrote Young that the Utes were badly disposed toward Americans, and that chiefs Elk and Walker were urging the Utes to attack the settlements in Utah Valley. The brethren were advised to protect themselves but if the Indians were friendly to teach them to raise grain and "order them to quit stealing."³

¹ Littell, Living Age, p. 530.

² House Executive Documents, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 2, pt. 3, p. 1002 (636)

³ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 309.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT EMPIRE OF THE EAST.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT EMPIRE OF THE EAST, FROM THE FIRST
TO THE LAST OF THE PRESENT CENTURY. BY J. G. LEITCH, ESQ.
OF THE BAR AT LINCOLN'S INN. IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. I.
LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1795.
AND SOLD BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.
THE SECOND VOLUME, WHICH CONTAINS THE HISTORY OF THE
EMPEROR SHUNSU, FROM THE YEAR 1644 TO 1661, IS NOW
PRINTING, AND WILL BE READY IN A FEW DAYS.
THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT EMPIRE OF THE EAST, FROM THE
FIRST TO THE LAST OF THE PRESENT CENTURY. BY J. G. LEITCH,
ESQ. OF THE BAR AT LINCOLN'S INN. IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. II.
LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1795.
AND SOLD BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT EMPIRE OF THE EAST, FROM THE
FIRST TO THE LAST OF THE PRESENT CENTURY. BY J. G. LEITCH,
ESQ. OF THE BAR AT LINCOLN'S INN. IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. II.
LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1795.
AND SOLD BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

In June 1849, Chief Walker and twelve of his tribe of San Pete Valley, where the Mormons were settling, declared themselves friendly and asked to have their people taught how to build and farm. "Within six moons I will send you a company," said Brigham¹ Young, who conferred with them at Salt Lake City.

The First Utah War. But in the autumn of 1849, the Indians commenced all sorts of annoyances; shot several head of cattle belonging to the Mormons; broke into isolated farm houses, terrifying women and children. One Indian being killed while in the act of pilfering, open hostility followed. Fort Utah which had been erected for the purpose of intimidating the Indians, became the refuge of the colonists. There they were attacked by the Indians, and after a three day skirmish, the Indians were driven from their entrenchments with rifles and cannon. The Mormons had only one man killed and several wounded. The Indians lost a great number, as measles had broken out among them, weakening their power of resistance. Some who had retreated to

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 313.

On June 1897, Grant College was closed for the year.
 Since the year before, when the students were not
 sent, the school authorities had been in the
 habit of sending them to the college at home. The
 students were sent to the college at home, and the
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Report, June 1897, Grant College at Grant, Ill.

Table Mountain were persuaded to come down and surrender. When ordered to lay down their arms, they refused and were fired on by the Mormons and nearly all were killed. The remainder who tried to escape were¹ pursued and cut down to a man.

On January 31st, 1850, Isaac Higbee of Fort Utah reported at Salt Lake that the Utah Valley Indians had stolen 50 or 60 head of cattle and horses, threatening further depredations, and asking permission to chastise them which was granted. A military expedition set out against them and in a few days routed the Indians from Utah Valley, shooting all they could find.² A large number of prisoners were taken, mostly women and children. They were placed in tents under Fort Utah until they could be dispersed among the families in the valley. But this attempt to civilize them was a failure for as soon as summer came they fled to their mountain homes.³ "Thus ended the first Indian War of Utah," says

¹ Littell, Living Age, p. 532.

² Bancroft, Robert Howe, History of Utah, pp. 308-309

³ Stansbury Report, p. 148, ff.

Bancroft, "which like all the others was a rather tame affair. It was the mission of the Mormons to convert the Indians, who were their brethren, and not to kill them."

It is of interest to notice more in detail this Utah war of 1850. We have an inkling of the complications arising among Indians, Mormons and the federal authorities, in the account given by Captain Howard Stansbury of the United States Army Topographical Engineers, who spent the winter of 1849-1850 among the Indians.

He writes in his official report:-

"The president (Young) was extremely averse to harsh treatment, but, after several conciliatory overtures had been resorted to in vain, he very properly determined to put a stop by force. Before coming to this decision the authorities called upon me to consult as to the policy of the measure, and to request the expression of my opinion as to what might be the view of the United States government. Knowing as I did most of the circumstances, and feeling convinced that some action of the kind would ultimately have to be resorted to, I did not hesitate to say that the expedition was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation.

"I knew the leader of the Indians to be a crafty and blood-thirsty savage who had been already guilty of several murders, and had openly threatened he would kill every white man he found alone upon the prairies. In addition to this I was convinced that the completion of the yet unfinished survey of the Utah Valley, must otherwise be attended with serious difficulty, and would involve the necessity of a largely increased and armed escort for its protection."

Lieutenant Howland of Stansbury's command with aid in the way of arms, ammunition, tents, and camp equipage accompanied the Mormon force of one hundred men.

Mormon Defensive Policy. Before proceeding further in the narrative of events, legislative evidences of a definite Indian policy of a defensive character on the part of the Mormon government are to be noted at this time.

An ordinance approved March 28th, 1850, prohibited the sale without a license of arms, ammunition, or

¹ Stansbury, Howard, "Exploration & c", p. 148, et seq.

² Utah Territory, Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, 1855, p. 63.

The first of these is the fact that the
 system of taxation is not uniform. The
 rate of tax varies from 10 to 20 per cent.
 and is subject to change at the discretion
 of the local authorities. This is a serious
 defect, as it leads to inequality of
 treatment and to the possibility of
 evasion. The second defect is that the
 system is not based on a sound principle
 of justice. The rate of tax is not
 proportional to the ability to pay, but
 is fixed at an arbitrary rate. This is
 also a serious defect, as it leads to
 inequality of treatment and to the
 possibility of evasion.

The third defect is that the system is
 not based on a sound principle of justice.
 The rate of tax is not proportional to
 the ability to pay, but is fixed at an
 arbitrary rate. This is also a serious
 defect, as it leads to inequality of
 treatment and to the possibility of
 evasion. The fourth defect is that the
 system is not based on a sound principle
 of justice. The rate of tax is not
 proportional to the ability to pay, but
 is fixed at an arbitrary rate. This is
 also a serious defect, as it leads to
 inequality of treatment and to the
 possibility of evasion.

The fifth defect is that the system is
 not based on a sound principle of justice.
 The rate of tax is not proportional to
 the ability to pay, but is fixed at an
 arbitrary rate. This is also a serious
 defect, as it leads to inequality of
 treatment and to the possibility of
 evasion.

The sixth defect is that the system is
 not based on a sound principle of justice.
 The rate of tax is not proportional to
 the ability to pay, but is fixed at an
 arbitrary rate. This is also a serious
 defect, as it leads to inequality of
 treatment and to the possibility of
 evasion.

spiritous liquors to the Indians, and declared a penalty of a fine not exceeding \$500 for such offense and also declared forfeit all the property received from the Indian.¹

On March 6th, 1852, Indian traders were forbidden to assemble Indians in the vicinity of any white settlement, the penalty² being a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$1000.

Most significant was an act of March 6th, 1852, "for the further relief of Indian slaves and prisoners," virtually legalizing Indian slavery.³ This act will be more fully noticed in connection with the Walker War of 1855.

In the meantime the Mormons continued to found new colonies; in 1849 they took possession of the Utah Valley; and the valleys of Tuilla and of San Pete. In 1850 a university was founded, four schools opened, several towns established, farms formed in the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and iron works and irrigation were begun.

¹ Utah Territory, Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, p. 63.

² Ibid., p. 174.

³ See Chapter VI.

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Chapter IV.

THE FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY AT THE TIME OF THE ACQUISITION OF UTAH.

The year 1848 marks the beginning of the United States' authority in Utah. At the close of the Indian War, Utah by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, passed from Mexico to the United States, as a part of the vast territory including the present states of California, Nevada, and Utah, and portions of Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona.¹

Fundamental Principles. By this period of our history the Indian problem was an old story, and out of a long series of acts and policies more or less expedient, dealing with the Indians two or three stand out prominently. From our earliest existence as a Union the Indian problem was recognized as a federal matter, the authority to deal with the Indians being placed upon Congress from the time of the Articles of Confederation. As early as 1802 attempts on the part

¹ McElroy, R. McN. The Winning of the Far West, map at end.

1871

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

The Church of the Holy Trinity

is situated in the city of

London, and is one of the

most important churches in

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of the government at civilization through the encouragement of agriculture among the Indians were begun. The government sought to civilize the Indians and protect them against the aggressions of the whites, but urgency on the part of frontiersmen, and later of states, for possession of lands occupied by Indians could not continue to be resented. John Quincy Adams voiced the growing opinion of his time that the Indians could not be allowed to hold back human progress. So, by degrees, the removal policy became the solution of the problem after 1825. Under Monroe and Adams the removal was voluntary, the consent of the Indians being expressed in treaties; under Jackson it was coercive until the Indians were finally entirely moved west of the Mississippi.¹

On July 9th, 1832, an act was passed providing for the appointment by the President of a commissioner of Indian affairs, under the Secretary of War.²

By an act of June 30th, 1834, the Department of Indian Affairs was organized which provided for a

¹Ellison, W. H., Federal Indian Policy in California, Chapter I.

²Public Statutes at Large of United States, Act of July 9, 1852 - vol. IV, p. 564.

Superintendency of Indian Affairs for all the Indian country not within the bounds of any state or territory west of the Mississippi, the superintendents of which should live at St. Louis.¹ Dealings were carried on through the War Department until transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1849,² when that department was organized.

The predominating features of our Indian policy were incorporated in an act of June 30th, 1834, known as "an act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers." This act provided that persons trading with Indians had to be licensed. Indians only might barter with Indians; cattle might not be driven for forage on Indian lands; settlers were to be driven off by military force; no purchasers or grants from Indians were allowed, persons sending or carrying any letters, messages, or speeches to disturb the peace would be fined; property of friendly Indians injured or destroyed must be paid for in twice

¹ Public Statutes at Large of the United States, Act of July 9, 1852 - vol. IV, p. 735-739.

its value; the selling or giving of spirituous liquors to Indians was prohibited; and the Indian agent and the United States Army were to see that the provisions of the Act were enforced.¹ There were then two important acts of June 30, 1834 relative to the Mormons; one provided for a department of Indian Affairs, the other outlined a policy of action and intercourse with the Indians. The latter act is particularly notable, as for half a² century it remained the fundamental law in Indian relations.

"Though the method of dealing with the Indians was by treaty making as with a nation having rights of self government and capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, this act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians as well as the whole Indian policy as it developed shows the assumption by the United States of sovereignty over all the lands included in the United States, and over the Indians.

¹ Public Statutes at Large of the United States, Act of June 30, 1834, vol. IV, pp. 729-735.

"This assumption of sovereignty was based on precedent and from time to time as it reached greater completeness received the sanction of the Supreme Court Though recognized, as already showing allegiance to a foreign power with rights of sovereignty, a decision in 1831, held that they were domestic, dependent nations, while in 1846, a decision held that the country in which a certain crime had been committed, though occupied by Cherokee Indians under treaty with the United States, was a part of the United States, and not within the limits of any particular state; that the tribe held and occupied the territory with the assent of the United States, and under its authority; that native tribes found on the continent are not independent nations, but that those within the United States are subject to its authority."¹

From the foregoing it is clear that the policy of the United States in dealing with the Indians was in part a kind of combination of two different ideas, that of treaty making and that of wardship.

¹ ~~Ellison~~ *W. H.*
~~W. H. Ellison~~ Federal Indian Policy in California,
 ch. 1.

By 1840, in accordance with the removal policy, most of the Indians had been removed from the frontier, which extended from the Red River and Texas to the Great Lakes, and the new frontier was thought by many to be the last one. But the annexation in Texas in 1845, the westward migration of settlers to Oregon and California, and of the Mormons to Utah broke the frontier, trespassed on Indian lands and the government had to adjust its Indian policy to a new situation.¹

The New Responsibility. That the administration was aware of a serious responsibility in the matter of relations with the Indians in the acquirement of Utah and the rest of the country ceded by Mexico in 1848, is shown in the report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Medill for that year.

"The fortunate termination of the war with Mexico, and the enlargement of our boundaries by the acquisition of California and New Mexico, will increase the number of Indians in the United States, and require the appointment of additional agents for the the proper management of the affairs of this department. The knowledge possessed by this office of

¹ Ellison, Wm. H., Federal Indian Policy in California, pp. 36-37; Paxson, F.L., The Last American Frontier, pp. 33-34.

in 1966, in connection with the removal of the
 part of the building which was damaged by the fire.
 which included the removal of the roof and the
 interior walls and the removal of the roof to be
 replaced. The work was completed in 1966.
 The building is located at 1000 N. 10th St. and
 is a two-story building. The building is owned by
 the City of Seattle and is used for the
 purpose of housing the City's records.

The building is a two-story building. The
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the various tribes within these territories is too limited to justify it in making any specific recommendations as to the measures which should be adopted at this time. The extension over them of the laws regulating our intercourse with the other Indians of the United States, and authority and means to appoint and maintain a suitable number of agents, will enable the Department to make such suggestions next year, for the consideration of the President and of Congress, as will lead to some more definite and satisfactory action on the subject."¹

And the same year President Polk recommended the appointment of a suitable number of Indian agents to reside among the tribes of Texas, New Mexico, and California including the region lying between our possessions in Missouri and these possessions, as the most effective means of preserving peace upon our borders and within the recently acquired territory.²

The next step of the government was to appoint Indian agents in the new country.

¹ House Executive Documents, 30th Cong., 2nd. Sess., vol. I, Doc. 1, pp. 407-408 (537)

² Ibid., p. 20, (537).

Chapter V.

FEDERAL BEGINNINGS IN UTAH

On April 7, 1849, John Wilson was appointed Indian agent at Salt Lake, which was then in California, with an allowance of fifteen hundred dollars a year for his own salary, five hundred for interpreters, and fifteen hundred dollars for contingent expenses, including presents to the Indians, the buying of two horses, house rent and incident-¹als. As the cost of living was then from two to five hundred per cent higher than "in the states,"² we may conclude that the allowance was not munificent.

Needs of the New Region. The Act of June 30, 1834, providing for the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs, restricted the number of agents to eleven in all, including at the time of the appointment of John Wilson, two agencies which had been transferred to California and New Mexico. The appointments of these new agencies were given an appearance of legality by sections of the act,

¹ Senate Executive Documents, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.IX, Doc. 13, pp. 97-98 (557).

² House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.X, Doc. 71, p. 143 (856).

CHAPTER V

FEDERAL RESERVING IN TEXAS

On April 1, 1923, four silver and copper coins
 agent of the bank, which was then in California, and an
 allowance of fifteen hundred dollars a year for his own
 salary, five hundred for his wife, and fifteen hundred
 dollars for contingent expenses, including passage to the
 Islands, the buying of two horses, shoes and incidentals.
 The cost of living was then from two to three
 hundred per cent higher than in the States, and was
 considered that the allowance was not insufficient.
Yards of the War Section. The Act of June 20, 1914,
 provided for the organization of the Department of Indian
 Affairs, transferred the number of agents to eleven in 1915,
 including at the time of the appointment of John Wilson,
 two agents who had been transferred to California and
 New Mexico. The appointments of these two agents were
 given an increase of twenty per cent in 1917.

1
 Senate Executive Documents, 65 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. II,
 No. 18, p. 20-21 (1917).
 2
 House Executive Documents, 65 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. I,
 Doc. 71, p. 147 (1917).

empowering the President to discontinue or transfer an agency whenever he judged it expedient, and to appoint sub-agents as needed. This caused the creation of sub-agents where full agents were needed. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs at this time declared that sub-agencies should in general be dispensed with, for the Indians were now found in larger groups, necessitating from the sub-agents as great a responsibility in some cases as that of the agents, while they received only one half the amount of compensation, that is to say, seven hundred and fifty dollars. When so many Indians came under the United States jurisdiction in Texas, Oregon, California, and New Mexico, the Act of 1834 proved wholly inadequate.¹

Another serious defect pointed out at this time also was the lack of sufficient superintendents. Mentioning the ex-officio superintendency of the governors of Oregon and Minnesota, the Commissioner declared the two-fold office undesirable. One reason, for instance, was that the location of the executive of the territory was not always the proper one for the superintendent.²

¹ Senate Executive Documents, 31 Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. II, Doc. 1, p. 951 (550).

² Ibid.

Difficulties which we shall see long continued to complicate the Indian problem in Utah were mentioned by John Wilson in August 1849, in his first report sent from the new Salt Lake agency. He stated that the Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake Valley had not only greatly diminished the supply of fish, but, together with the emigration to California had already driven away nearly all the game so necessary to the Indians.

"It is imperative that the government put in practice some mode of relief for these unfortunate people..." he pleaded; some of whom were already engaged in cultivation of the soil. Portions of the Utah bands were reported at variance with the Shoshones, and portions of them had always been at war with the Mexicans, constantly making inroads into New Mexico and California to steal horses.

"Here," he wrote, "the principal agency ought to be established and also the leading military post of these mountains ... If proper agents are kept among the Shoshones and a fair support provided for them,¹ they will be easily managed."

This is only the beginning of often repeated testimony to the amenable character of the Utah Indians.

¹ Senate Executive Documents, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. II, Doc. 1, p. 1002 (550).

Bitterness which he said was being poured by some-
 one else. The Indian people in Utah were not at all
 in August 1905, in his mind. He said that they were not
 Lake County. He stated that the Indian population in the
 Salt Lake Valley was not only generally hostile to the
 of Utah, but, together with the population in California and
 already given nearly all the same as a necessity to the
 Indians.

It is important that the government not be deceived
 some hope of relief for these unfortunate people.
 He observed, also, that some of the Indian population in California
 of the soil. Portions of the Utah people were reported as
 relations with the Indians, and portions of them had always
 been at war with the Indians, especially among the Indians who
 Utah, Mexico and California in their relations.

"Here," he said, "the Indian people are not
 established was also the leading industry of
 these mountains. It is not only the people who
 the Indians and a few other people who are
 they will be greatly benefited."

This is only the beginning of other things which are
 possible elsewhere in the Utah Territory.

In December of the same year President Taylor urged Congress in his message, to legislate further for the effective extension of Indian intercourse in the new region. ¹

Utah Becomes a Territory. Meanwhile the Mormons in Utah had drawn up a territorial constitution, in which the state in formation was named Deseret, meaning Honey-Bee in the Book of Mormon. A part of the Pacific littoral was claimed within its boundaries; holding slaves was prohibited, but no other deviations from the constitutions of the other states were proposed.

In the bill which passed through Congress in September 1850, making Utah a territory, the Indian name was preferred to the Egyptian one of Deseret, and the claim upon the Pacific littoral was not considered. The boundaries of the new territory were: West, California; north, Oregon Territory; east, the summit of the Rocky Mountains; and south, the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude. That is on the east and south was the watershed which separates the streams pouring into the basin (of the Salt Lake) from those which flow into the Rio Colorado and the Mexican Gulf. ²

¹ House Executive Documents, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. III, Doc. 5, p. 12 (569).

² Littell, Living Age, 1855, Vol. X, 2 Series, p. 532. September 9, An act to establish a Territorial Government for Utah, 1850.

A map of this time shows Utah bounded on the north by Oregon Territory; on the South, by New Mexico Territory; on the west by California as it is today; and on the east by the large territories of Nebraska and Kansas.¹

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The names of Nevada and Colorado do not appear, for they were as yet non-existent, both becoming territories in 1861. By the settlement of the eastern boundary of California along the ridge of the Sierra Nevada, Salt Lake became a part of Utah, and consequently was no longer the seat of a California agency.²

On January 3, 1851, Brigham Young was appointed governor of Utah Territory, with the capital at Salt Lake; and, despite the advice cited of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs concerning the undesirability of the two-fold office of governor and superintendent, Young was also made ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs for the term of four years. As governor he received fifteen hundred dollars a year, and as superintendent one thousand.³ On February 27, 1851,

¹ Paxson, F.L., The Last American Frontier, p. 140.

² Senate Journal, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 25 (548).

³ Bancroft, H.H., History of Utah, p. 455. Utah Territory: Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, 1851.

Congress provided one Indian agent for the new territory with an annual salary of fifteen hundred and fifty dollars. ¹

Of the federal appointments, a historian says:

"Washington prejudiced a situation already difficult by sending to Utah officers and judges, some of whom could not have commanded respect, even where the ² sway of United States authority was complete."

From this generalization, as will be seen, the federal Indian agents in Utah may safely be exempted.

The people of Deseret, though not entirely satisfied with the territorial arrangements, sent delegates to Congress and received the non-Mormon authorities who arrived ³ in 1851.

The Establishment of the Utah Indian Agencies. In July 1851, by virtue of the establishment of an agency and two sub-agencies by the United States, Brigham Young divided the agencies as follows:

¹ Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States, Vol. IX, p. 571.

² Paxson, F.L., The Last American Frontier, p. 102; similar testimony in Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 456.

³ Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 456.

Congress provided the United States with the necessary
 with an annual budget of \$100 million and \$100 million
 of the United States' resources, and the United States
 "American people" - a "strong" and "stable" and "secure"
 by working to keep the United States "strong, secure, and
 people and the American people, and the United States
 way of United States with the world."
 From this perspective, we will be able to build
 American people to keep the United States strong.
 The people of the United States, and the American people
 and the American people, and the American people
 Congress and the American people, and the American people
 in 1945.

The United States of America
 July 1945, by the United States of America, and
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The first, or Parvan agency, which was in the north included all within the limits of the Territory west of the Shoshone nation, and north of the south line of the Parvan Valley.

The second, or Uinta agency, to the east, included all of the Snakes or Shoshones within the Territory, the Uinta, and Yampah, and all other tribes south, within the Territory, and east of the eastern rim of the Great Basin.

The third, or Parowan agency, to the south, included all the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin, and south of the south line of the Parvan Valley, to the western bounds of the Territory.¹

While Young thus divided the agencies, he had not, of course, either the powers of appointment of Indian agents, or of the appropriation of government funds.² These were federal matters.

To the Parvan district, Superintendent Young assigned sub-agent Henry R. Day, a non-Mormon. To the region includ-

¹ Utah Journal of the House of Representatives, 1851-1852, Governor Young's proclamation, p. 180

² Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 480, note.

ing Salt Lake was assigned Major J. H. Holeman, non-Mormon agent. The third district was in charge of sub-agent S.B. Rose who was a Mormon.

In the Parvan agency, Day succeeded in effecting a peace meeting between Walker and Sow-er-ette, Utah chiefs and the neighboring Shoshone chief, Out-nose, with whom¹ they had been at war for many years.

In September of 1851 at Fort Laramie in the Central Superintendency was held an Indian peace meeting, under Colonel Mitchell. Some of the Shoshones of Utah attended and received presents, which gave them a friendly feeling² towards the government.

In accordance with Superintendent Young's instructions, Day and Holeman invited the Indians to attend the meeting at Laramie. So few from these agencies responded that Young decided they could not properly represent the tribes and so had presents made them instead of having them take

¹ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. X, Doc. 71, p. 100 (956)

² Ibid., 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Doc. 2, p. 373 (636).

the Gulf side was assigned Major J. H. Coleman, non-commissioned
agent. The third division was in charge of the general S.S.
force and was a reserve.

In the given agency, the necessary in assisting a
space existing between the 1st and 2nd divisions. With other
and the neighboring divisions with the 1st division, with whom
they had been at war for many years.

In December of 1901, the first division in the Central
Department was the 1st division, which was
Colonel in chief. Each of the divisions of the Central
and Western divisions, which have been a Division, Division
Division, Division, Division.

In accordance with the Departmental Order, the 1st division
has been divided into the 1st division in the 1st division
in the 1st division. In the 1st division, the 1st division
has been divided into the 1st division in the 1st division
and the 1st division in the 1st division.

James H. Coleman, Major, S.S. 1st Division, 1st Division, 1st Division
1st Division, 1st Division, 1st Division, 1st Division, 1st Division
1st Division, 1st Division, 1st Division, 1st Division, 1st Division

the trip Day reported that Walker and Sow-er-ette declared they did not trust the Mormons, that the meeting plan was a plot on the part of the Mormons to murder the Indians and so they would not attend the conference.¹

Indian Hostility to the Mormons. From the time of the formation of the Territory, with the consequent spread of Mormon civilization it becomes more apparent that, in place of the early friendly relations between the Mormons and the Indians, a hostility, due to the encroachment of the Mormon settlements, had now grown up to a degree best expressed by the exclamation of old Chief Sow-er-ette to Day. Drawing himself up to his full height, he said:

"American good! Mormon no good! American friend!
Mormon kill, steal."²

From this time on occur reports in which Indians frequently expressed themselves emphatically against the Mormons making settlements on their lands. They sought information from the American trader and interpreter, James Bridger, whether they could prevent such intrusion. Later,

¹ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.X, Doc.71, p.132 (956).

² Ibid., p. 130 (956).

the trip they returned from which had been after a visit
they did not trust the Indians, that the meeting place was
a plot on the part of the Indians to murder the Indians and
so they would not attend the conference.

Indian Hostility to the Mormons. From the time of
the formation of the Territory, with the consequent threat
of Mormon domination it became more apparent that, in
place of the early friendly relations between the Indians
and the Indians, a hostility, due to the encroachment of
the Mormon settlements, had now given up to a degree that
expressed by the exclamation of old Chief Hoo-ah-ah to
say. During himself as to his full belief, he said:

"American good! Mormon no good! American evil!"

Between 1811, 1812, 1813.

From this time on about reports in which Indians
frequently received themselves indignantly against the
Mormons and their settlements on their lands. They sought
information from the American agent and interpreted, later,
Bridger, stated that could present such information.

Indian Reservation Committee, 25 Good, 1 Good, Vol. I,
Dec. VI, p. 122 (1885).

1885, p. 120 (1885).

a deputation of Uintah Utes visited Major Holeman to protest against white settlements, particularly Mormon. When, in response to Chief Sauriet's (Sow-er-ette) request, traders visited his Indians, they demanded to know whether any of the white men were Mormons. Although one was a Mormon, the fact had to be denied. So great was the hostility expressed toward the Mormons that if they had been recognized as such they would have been driven away.

The Shoshones were equally opposed, and expressed their disapprobation to the Mormons settling on their lands.¹

It is important, of course, to understand that the hostility of the Indians was not directed toward the Mormons as such, but rather because they were the most numerous settlers.² Fearing for their lands, the Indians also attacked the emigrants.

The "Freeman." But though it was natural the Indians should attack any of the white race as their enemies, since all whites were intruders, they were not

¹ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. X, Doc. 71, pp. 144-145 (956).

² Ibid., p. 163 (956).

a delegation of United States (Mr. Tolson) to visit
 against the evidence, particularly in the
 response to United States (204-10-1000) request, request
 visited the Indians, they seemed to know whether any of
 the tribe had been working. Although we was a woman, the
 fact had to be stated. It was the possibility expressed
 toward the Indians that if they had been recognized as such
 they would have been driven away.

The Government with equally serious, and extremely clear
 disapproval to the Government existing in their lands.
 It is important, of course, to understand that the
 possibility of the Indians was not involved in the Government
 as well, but rather because they were the most important
 evidence. Testing for their lands, the Indians also
 showed the evidence.

The "Witness" - The Government is not against the
 Indians would extend any of the tribe to the
 evidence, since all tribes are important. They were not

United States Government, 10 Aug. 1960, Vol. 1, No. 1, 100-100 (1960)
 Vol. 1, No. 100 (1960)
 Vol. 1, No. 100 (1960)

the chief cause of disorder and distress in the Territory. Rather, the worst of all classes of disturbers were a set of traders called "Freemen," a mixture of all nations, settled around and among the Indians, some married to them, who attacked the emigrants through the Indians. They would get the Indians to drive off the stock of the emigrants, and then force the latter to buy back their goods from the "Freemen," at an exorbitant price.¹ Agent Holeman declared the "white" Indians were much more dangerous than the "red," and because of these marauders, not because of Indians, troops were needed to protect the emigrant trail through Carson Valley.² With outlaws it was impossible to treat; for them troops were needed, but with these Indians showing friendliness and good will, the government was repeatedly urged by the agents to form treaties.

The Mormons and United States Hostile. Beside the Indian hostility to the Mormons, and occasional attacks on emigrants, beside the dangerous and degrading influence of the "Freemen," there existed a mutual distrust between the

¹ House Executive Documents, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., Pt. 3, Doc. 2, p. 444 (636).

² Ibid., p. 153 (956).

Mormon and non-Mormon Indian agents. This unfortunate circumstance was undoubtedly the greatest deterrent to harmony among the conflicting groups of occupants of the Territory, for failing in amicable cooperation, federal and Mormon agents could not achieve even the beginning of a friendly understanding between the government and the Indians, who were bewildered by the opposing tactics of the two parties.

Both agents, Day and Holeman, suffered annoyances from the Mormons. Fearing spies, they frequently sent letters outside the Territory to be mailed. Both protested in their reports to Commissioner Lea that Young should not be superintendent, that he used the office to promote the interest of his people. Holeman recounted that Young and the Mormon sub-agent, S. B. Rose, had taken presents to placate Indians in a section of the country where Mormons were making a new settlement contrary to the wishes of the Indians of the region. These presents were provided at the expense of the federal government, not so serious an offense in itself, but the friendship purchased thereby was for the Mormons, and against the United States because the Indians were made to believe the former were their

a day

Native and non-Native Indian agents. This relationship

of course was not without its greatest difficulties in

harmony among the conflicting groups of interests of the

territory, for failing in reliable cooperation, federal

and Native agents could not achieve even the beginning of

a friendly understanding between the government and the

Indians, who were frustrated by the opposing policies of

the two parties.

Both agents, Day and Holman, without exception

from the beginning, during which, they frequently

issued orders and territory to be settled. Both received

in their reports of Commissioner and that they would not

be disappointed, that he would the office to report the

interest of his office. Holman mentioned that they had

the Native agent, J. B. Day, had been present in

the Indian agent in a meeting in the country where they

were making a new settlement country in the state of the

Indian of the region. These agents had been in

the office of the federal government, not to return in

order in 1887, and the Indians had been in the

and the Indians, and against the United States people

the Indians were not to follow the federal rule.

friends and the latter their enemy. 1 1

In January 1852, Day left Utah giving as his reason the public and private abuse of the government of the United States and of its officials by the Mormons. The office he held was abolished. 2 Agent Holeman, after six months, overwhelmed by the responsibilities under which he labored practically single-handed, was almost moved to give up. He wrote to the department:

"I have no idea, with Governor Young at the head of the Indian department, that I shall be able to do anything that can be of service to the government, or to the Indians, or creditable to myself." 3

There is no doubt as to Holeman's desire to achieve results. He saw great opportunities as well as difficulties in his position, studiously refraining from meddling in religious, political, or any other strictly Mormon affairs. Undoubtedly the ambition to win the Indians by kindness, "the best mode," held him to his post in spite of many discouragements, for he did not give up at this time, after all.

¹ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. X, Doc. 2, p. 137 (1956).

² Ibid., p. 171 (1956).

³ Ibid., p. 152 (1956).

Trinidad and the latter about May.

In January 1955, the first issue of the paper

the public and private views of the Government in the

United States and at the discretion of the Government. The

policy of the paper was to be to provide a forum for the

public, to be published by the Government in the form of

the public and private views of the Government in the

form of the paper.

"I have no idea, with Government in the form of

the public and private views of the Government in the

form of the paper, to be published by the Government in the

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form of the paper, to be published by the Government in the

He remained at his post till succeeded in 1855 by Dr. Garland Hurt.

Chapter VI.

From the foregoing account of the activities of the agents in the new territory it is clear that there existed a three cornered conflict of Indians, Mormons, and Americans. Before drawing conclusions concerning these complications it will be profitable to follow the trend of affairs somewhat further.

As anticipatory to the spring migration to California and Oregon, and in relation with Young and Smith who were still cooperating with him in that way.

On May 1, 1852, Holmes again wrote he had received no communication from the Department, although the April mail from "the West" had arrived, and consequently lacking directions, he was acting on his own judgment in planning to restore peace and order by visiting and giving presents to the wandering Indians in the Southern Region where the principal trouble was. Showing his dissatisfaction of Douglas in not being called in as a mediator in the matter, he took pains to assure them of

Revised Narrative, December, 29, 1852, Vol. 1, p. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

1852, p. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

He remained at his post till succeeded in 1835 by Dr. G. G. G.

Next.

From the foregoing account of the activities of the
agents in the new territory it is clear that there existed
a large number of agents of Indian, Chinese, and American.
Before leaving the territory the following were the
it will be profitable to follow the track of the
further.

Chapter VI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS IN UTAH FROM 1851 TO 1857.

In February 1852, Agent Holman wrote the department for information concerning its intentions and wishes in relation to the Indians of Utah Territory, and for instructions anticipatory to the spring emigration to California and Oregon, and to relations with Young and Rose who were not cooperating with him in any way.

On May 1, 1852, Holeman again wrote he had received no communication from the department, although the April mail from "the States" had arrived, and consequently lacking directions, he was acting on his own judgment in planning to secure peace and safety by visiting and giving presents to the marauding Indians in the Humboldt regions where the emigrant troubles were. Knowing the disinclination of Congress to make an outlay in so hazardous a matter, he took pains to assure them of

1

House Executive Document, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. X, Doc. 7, p. 135 (956).

2

Ibid., p. 148 (956)

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THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY HAS BEEN ADVISED BY THE

On 12/12/54, Agent Tolson wrote the following letter to the Director of the FBI:

On Nov. 1, 1922, following a long stay in the hospital, an examination of the patient, although the patient will have the right to be tried, and eventually making a record, he was sent to his own hospital in order to secure peace and safety by visiting and giving records to the attending doctors in the hospital region where the patient's record was. Knowing the determination of the patient to take a walk in a garden a better, he took a walk in a garden of

his continued economy. Early in the summer of 1852, agent Holman in accordance with his letter of May 1, with the approbation of Governor Young, undertook an expedition to the various tribes occupying the region west of the Great Salt Lake, where the emigrant trains traveled by the hundreds. The object of the expedition was to prevent a recurrence of collisions between emigrants and Indians, and resulted in no more murders or robberies being reported that year.¹

In his report of the year 1852, Brigham Young submitted an estimate of \$27,300 for the needs of the superintendency, and recorded an interview with Utahs and Shoshones - "the first that had occurred of a like nature since the settlements were founded."² The meeting took place by means of interpreters and was for the purpose of establishing peace among the Shoshones and Utahs, and trade with the whites. Agent Holman in a separate report told he had suggested a meeting of the Indians.³ Apparently unwilling to acknowledge Holeman's part in the peace meeting, Young wrote that it took place at the instigation of the Shoshones. Both tribes, when asked, declared in favor of the whites settling. Perhaps

¹ House Executive Documents, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., vol. 1 pt. 1, Doc. 1, p. 300 (673).

² Ibid., p. 438.

³ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 1.

his continued advocacy. Early in the summer of 1882,
Agent Holman, in company with his sister of May 1,
with the approval of Governor Young, embarked on
expedition to the various tribes occupying the region
west of the Great Salt Lake, where the present station
traveled by the Indians. The object of the expedition
was to discover a knowledge of conditions between Indians
and Indians, and resulted in no more murders or robberies
being reported that year.

In his report of the year 1882, Agent Young sub-
mitted an estimate of \$17,500 for the needs of the winter
campaign, and received an increase with which the
Government - the first that had occurred in a like manner
since the establishment was founded. The winter work
done by means of interpreters and was the first success in
establishing peace among the Indians and Ute, and
trade with the whites. Agent Holman in a separate report
1883 he had suggested a meeting of the Indians, especially
invited to accompany Holman's party in the great west-
ing, Young wrote that it took place at the invitation of
the Government. Both officers, when asked, reported
in favor of the winter campaign. Perhaps

1
House Committee on Indian Affairs, 55 Cong., 2 sess., vol. 1,
pt. 1, 1897, p. 700 (1897).
2
Ibid., p. 725.
3
House Committee on Indian Affairs, 55 Cong., 2 sess., vol. 1,
pt. 1, 1897, p. 700 (1897).

they were being politic in their answer. Superintendent Young wrote further:

"The Indians are universally fed and partially clothed throughout the territory where settlements have been made according to the ability of the people, and very many children are taken into families and have all the usual facilities for education afforded other children."

The Utah Act of 1852. How Indian children were taken into Mormon families and cared for may be further understood from the Utah Act of 1852.¹ Though the act was a virtual legalization of slavery, Richard F. Burton who travelled in Utah at the time wrote in reference thereto:

"The Mormons treat their step-brethren with far more humanity than other western men; they feed, clothe and lodge them, and attach them by good works to their interests."²

¹ The City of Saints, p. 297.

² Ibid.

the same time, it is also a very important part of the whole.

The first part of the whole is the most important part of the whole.

The second part of the whole is the most important part of the whole.

The third part of the whole is the most important part of the whole.

The fourth part of the whole is the most important part of the whole.

The act stated that from time immemorial Mexican traders had supplied the Indians with horses, fire-arms and ammunition, often taking in exchange Indian women and children, who were afterwards sold into slavery. To remedy this evil, the enforced apprenticeship of Indian children was legalized, when for the purpose of purchasing those who would otherwise have been sold to the Mexicans¹ or abandoned by their parents.

The reason for such legislation by territorial authority was explained as follows in preamble to the act which is interesting because it shows the peculiar status of Utah that made settlement there a problem in connection with the Indians:

"The acquisition and organization of Utah as a territory by Act of Congress gives a unique character to the government of that territory. It is really Indian territory so far as the right of soil is involved; it is a white legalized government on Indian lands, because the United States laws in relation to intercourse with Indians are designed for and applicable only to

¹ Utah Territory. Legislative Act of March 6th, 1852.

territories and countries under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, the territory saw fit to legislate independently in the matter of Indian slavery.

"From time immemorial the practice of purchasing Indian women and children of the Utah tribe of Indians by Mexican traders has been carried on. The Indians gamble away their own families, or steal or conquer those of others. Robbery, murder, ill-treatment are incident to this inhuman trade.

The act was the result of the coming of a party of Mexican traders into San Pete Valley who were trading horses for Indian children and firearms. Their leader, named Pedro León, showed a license dated Santa Fé, August 14th, 1851, and signed by James S. Calhoun, governor and Superintendent of Indians in New Mexico, authorizing them to trade with the Ute Indians, "in all their various localities." By virtue of his authority as governor and superintendent, Brigham Young forbade all trading of this nature, and told the Mexicans their license was not valid. The Mexicans, ordered to leave the territory, avenged themselves by stirring up the savages against the settlers. They furnished the Indians with guns and ammunition,

contrary to the laws of Utah and of the United States. The situation became so serious that Governor Young, in April 1853, issued a proclamation, calling attention to the tactics of the slave traders, and ordering Captain Wall, with thirty mounted men to reconnoitre the southern country and arrest every strolling Mexican party or any other suspicious-looking persons whom he might encounter.

The Walker War. These proceedings were one of the causes of the Walker War. Chief Walker, who had at first been friendly to the Mormons, began to hate them as he saw his best lands being occupied by them, the game disappearing and his Indians being shot down. The conciliatory methods of the Mormons, observed by the writer Burton gave way to force after they gained a foothold, so that the Mexicans found ready material for insurrection. Walker now justified and defended the Mexicans against the Mormons. The Indian uprising began in July, 1858. Attacks were made at various points; during the year

¹ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. X, Doc. 71, pp. 136-6956.

² Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, pp. 474, 5, 6. Whitney, Orson F., Popular History of Utah, pp. 98-9.

³ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. X, Doc. 71, p. 162 (956)

twelve Mormons were killed, a number wounded and about four hundred cattle and horses stolen. Many Indians also were killed. The expense incurred in building forts and removing settlements amounted to about \$200,000.¹

The Gunnison Massacre. An episode of the Walker War was the tragedy known as the Gunnison Massacre. Captain John W. Gunnison, who as Lieutenant of Topographical Engineers had visited Salt Lake Valley with Captain Stansbury in 1849, returned in 1853, at the head of a surveying expedition. While he and his party of twelve were at breakfast they were surprised by a volley of rifles, a flight of arrows and the yells of a band of Pah-Utes, who had crept under cover of the bushes to within twenty-five yards of the spot. Gunnison, running out from his tent, called out to the Indians that he was their friend. He fell, pierced by fifteen arrows. Only four of the party escaped. The Gunnison Massacre was the result of the wanton killing of some poor and friendly Pah-Ute Indians, by emigrants from Missouri to California. In Indian fashion, their avengers attacked

¹
House Executive Document, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. X, Doc. 71, p. 162 (956).

the first available party of white men passing through their country. Accusations against the Mormons for the massacre seem groundless; Gunnison, who wrote a reliable history of the Mormons, was a favorite with¹ them; moreover one of the slain was a Mormon guide.

Upon investigation by federal authorities of the Gunnison Massacre, three Indians were tried, convicted and sent to the penitentiary. The court was held under the protection of United States troops, owing to the presence of about five hundred Ute Warriors, who were encamped nearby, watching with keen interest the progress of the trial.² The judge charged the jury that e they must either be found not guilty or guilty of murder; and the Mormon jury returned a verdict of manslaughter; three years' imprisonment was pronounced, but the murderers escaped "by oversight" of their jailers, and³ regained their tribes, where they remained undisturbed.

In May, 1854, Young and other leading men, by means of presents, regained friendship and peace with Chief

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 470.
Whitney, Orson F. Popular History of Utah, p. 102.

² Whitney, Orson F., Popular History of Utah, p. 107.

³ Dunn, J.P. jr., Massacre of the Mountains, p. 279.

Walker and his tribesmen, and a treaty was entered into, by which the Walker War was ended.¹ In January, 1855, the leading spirit of the Utahs, Chief Walker, died, at peace with the Mormons. He was succeeded by three brothers in turn, Arapeen, Sanpitch,² and later Tabby.

The Disposition of the Indians. The Walker War was in no sense a real war, and depredations notwithstanding, the Indians were pliant and approachable. On the condition of the Indians in Utah, the following account of Agent Holeman, dated September 26th, 1852, furnishes firsthand testimony:

"The Indians in this section of the Territory (the Humboldt Valley) although they appear to be in a savage and wild state, seem to have a very correct idea of the power and importance of our government I think it important that government should establish posts on this route: one on the Humboldt and one at the Mormon station in Carson Valley There are white men who are more desperate and who commit more

¹ Whitney, Orson F., Popular History of Utah, p. 106.

² Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 478.

Other and a reference, and a treaty was signed
and, by which the whole was ended. In 1800
and 1801, the British ships of the line, under
Admiral Boscawen, were sent to the coast of
Africa, and were ordered to seize any French
ships, and to take any prizes.

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Admiral Boscawen, were sent to the coast of
Africa, and were ordered to seize any French
ships, and to take any prizes.

depredations, it is thought, than the Indians, and who keep the Indians in a state of excitement.

"I have therefore recommended that a treaty should be held with the Indians in this Territory. I earnestly repeat the recommendation ... If something is not done, ... in the course of a few years the Indians will be compelled to give up their present locations to an emigrating population, and be driven forth to perish in the plains. The Indians seem friendly disposed, and will at no time be better prepared for friendly negotiations than at present!"¹

Even during the year of the Walker War, the majority of the Indians were friendly -

"With the exception of Indian Walker and his band, the Indians within our borders profess friendship."²

Agent Holeman, in another expedition among the Indians on the Humboldt and Carson rivers, in the year

¹ House Executive Documents, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., vol. I, pt. 1, Doc. 1, p. 445 (673).

² Senate Executive Documents, 33 Cong., 1st Sess., vol. I, p. 442 (690)

United States, is in fact, and the Indians
and the rest of the world is a world of slaves.

and.

It is a shame to remember that a man
should be left with the Indians in this country.
I strongly repeat the recommendation... It is
that is not good... In the course of the years
the Indians will be expected to give up their
strength to the world as an ordinary population, and
be driven back to the world in the future. The
great American dream, and will be the
be better prepared for the future world.
It is a shame.

and the rest of the world, the
of the Indians, and the world.

With the help of the Indians and the
world, the world is a world of slaves.

and the world, the world is a world of slaves.
Indians in the world, the world is a world of slaves.

and the world, the world is a world of slaves.
Indians in the world, the world is a world of slaves.
and the world, the world is a world of slaves.
Indians in the world, the world is a world of slaves.

1853, found them disposed to be friendly. Again he found the chief instigator of trouble to be white men, traders from California, whose chief stock was liquor, who killed and robbed Indians and emigrants alike. They

"steal and commit more depredations than the Indians, all of which they manage to have charged to the Indians I feel satisfied that until government throws protection over this route and places the means within the reach of the officers to enforce their authority and the laws there can be no safety to travel."¹

Hindrances, Delays and Depredations. To the various reports and admonitions the government did not respond; and in addition to the various and repeated causes of disturbances in Utah, was the fundamental one of no provision having been made for land indemnification. Commissioner Manypenny, in his reports for this year and the next, 1853 and 1854, urged as remedies that new treaties be made, and that capable commissioners be appointed to study the whole subject of Indian relations in Utah and elsewhere.²

"Our citizens ought to have proper protection from Indian depredations; but in the present state of things in these Territories (New Mexico

¹ Senate Executive Document, 33 Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 1, Doc. 1, p. 447.

² Ibid. p. 447.

and Utah), this is impossible. All the military force that could be sent there could not prevent such depredations, otherwise than by the extermination of the Indians. Without implements or stock, and untaught and unassisted in the art of husbandry, they cannot support themselves otherwise than they do They must either subsist to a considerable extent by plundering the white inhabitants, or they will have to be exterminated; or else they must be colonized in suitable locations, and to some extent at least, be assisted by the government, until they can be trained to such habits of industry and thrift as will enable them to sustain themselves. This system is in operation in California with some prospect of success. It is about being commenced in Texas, and its adoption in ¹New Mexico and Utah, should be no longer delayed." Unfortunately it was delayed for some time.

"In New Mexico, Utah, Washington, and Minnesota, the supervision of our Indian affairs is given

¹

Indian Affairs Report, 1854, p. 14.

to the territorial executive, who, by law is made the superintendent; and in Oregon, Kansas, and Nebraska, the same is confided to an independent officer, denominated the Superintendent of Indian affairs. I am satisfied that the harmony and efficiency of the Indian service would be promoted by placing our Indian affairs in the first, on the same footing in this respect that they now occupy in the last named Territories."¹

This advice, tendered more than once, Congress continued to ignore, in the case of Utah.²

At the time of this writing, an appropriation of \$40,000 had been made by Congress to negotiate treaties with the Indians of Utah, but these appropriations were delayed until it was too late in the season to send out the goods and other presents.³

Another hindrance to the improvement of the state of affairs in Utah, which may be attributable to the remoteness of the frontier, was nearly a year's delay

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1854, p. 17.

² House Executive Document, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. X, Doc. 71, p. 125 (956).

³ Indian Affairs Report, 1855, p. 13; House Executive Document, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. X, Doc. 71, p. 169 (956)

in the report from Governor Young, who had been called upon to furnish information concerning the ⁹condition of the Indians and articles necessary for presents for them. Young's report dated October 1854¹ was not received until July 27th, 1855.

For his own part Young wrote the department on June 26, 1855, that from the very beginning he had sought instructions from the department in relation to the policy wished to be adopted and carried out by the government towards and with the Indians of this Territory:-

"It was one year after I commenced the discharge of my official duties before I obtained even an office copy of the laws, regulations and intercourse with the Indians, and forms were frequently solicited; finally after much solicitation I received a letter from Commissioner Lea from which I make the following extract:

The remoteness of Utah from Washington, and the little that is known here of the Indians in that Territory, render it necessary that the management of our Indian affairs in that quarter be left almost entirely to your discretion and judgment.

This letter is dated Feb. 20-1852. Young pointed out

on the 7th of August of that year,
 that while the department thus held him responsible
 for the Indian affairs in Utah, it did not furnish
 him with the necessary instructions or usual facilities
 of other Territories to aid in the performance of his
 duty.¹

More important still was the continued lack of
 sufficient agents, testified to by Young and Holeman
 both.²

However the department or Congress may have felt
 towards the Mormons as a result of the agents reports
 Young according to his own account was not notified up
 to this time of any dissatisfaction on the part of the
 government.³

Meanwhile Young and the agents continued their
 activities. In his report for the year 1855 (September
 29th.), Young stated that peace prevailed among the In-
 dians themselves and with their white neighbors and the
 emigrants. However, the expense of keeping peace through
gifts was being largely borne by settlers.

¹ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., vol.
 X, Doc. 71, p. 170 (956).

² Ibid., pp. 153 and 171

³ Ibid., 171

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of other persons he did in the possession of his
the with the necessary knowledge of the law, and
for the Indian Affairs of the United States.

1995

On the 7th of August of that year,

"large bands of Shoshones (Snakes) and Utahs met in council in this city (Salt Lake City) where they made a good peace which I hope will prove lasting."¹

In the report of Indian affairs this treaty was recorded as a treaty for "peace and friendship" with the Shosh^ones, and the passage of citizens through their country; three thousand dollars was paid to the Shoshones; nothing was paid to the Utahs - no territory was acquired. The treaty was not ratified and only a copy of it was received at Washington.²

In characterizing the Indian affairs of Utah as peaceful, Young allowed the accompanying letter of sub-agent Armstrong, who came to the Territory in 1855, to speak for itself. This letter gives a detailed account of a typical instance of retaliation on the part of a band of Utahs near Provo city, led by Chief Tintick who claimed that his mare and colt had been killed by whites. Investigation and promises of compensation were apparently unavoidably ^aso long of fulfilment that

¹

Indian Affairs Report, 1855, p. 196

²

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 477;
Indian Affairs Report, 1856, p. 867.

On the 15th of August of that year,

"I have heard of your country (Greece) and I wish
 not to count it in vain only (I will take care) that
 they make a good word which I have will prove
 lasting."

In the report of Indian Affairs this treaty was recorded
 as a treaty for "peace and friendship" with the Indians,
 and the promise of assistance through their country. When
 the report of the treaty was sent to the Government, nothing was
 said to the Indians - no territory was assigned. The
 treaty was not ratified and only a copy of it was re-
 ceived at Washington.

In establishing the Indian Affairs of Utah we
 found that, from among the accompanying letters of ap-
 pointment, one came to the United States in 1855, to
 speak for itself. This letter gives a detailed ac-
 count of a special mission of investigation on the part
 of a band of Ute Indians from their camp, and by their in-
 struments who stated that they were not well and were ill
 by illness. Investigation and reports of investigation
 were accordingly made by the band of Ute Indians that

Indian Affairs Report, 1855, p. 125

2
 Bureau of Indian Affairs, Report of 1855, p. 125
 Indian Affairs Report, 1855, p. 125

The Indians grew impatient. The whites lost five head of cattle and a horse during the delay in settlement. But when paid for their loss, the Indians withdrew peaceably, returning to the agent's office only to beg for flour and plead for fishing grounds.

Again the government was warned that Indian depredations could not but continue, owing to the destitute condition of the Indians.

Farms Established. Agent Armstrong further recorded that Indians near Palmyra, Springville and Provo desired to

"engage in agricultural pursuits, were any facilities afforded them by the government for so doing ...

Pe-test-weet, the chief of the band of Palmyra has made a selection of a very large tract of land for a pasture (about one thousand acres) a very large portion of which is very excellent farming land."

Proving the eagerness and friendliness, the Utah chiefs, Sanpitch and Tabba helped the agent to restore to their white owners, two horses that had been stolen by Indians. Agent Armstrong told of meeting the ancient Utah Chief Sawriet who had been absent from the

The Indians were ignorant. The whites took them
of cattle and a horse during the night in darkness.
But when told for their part, the Indians withdrew
and, returning to the spot, others only to get for
them and almost for the same purpose.
Again the government was aware that Indian bands
were going out for cattle, owing to the necessity
condition at the Indian.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

Indians were taken, sometimes and were wanted to

"because in civilized countries, even the Indians

are not taken by the government for no reason ...

in fact, the only one of the kind in the

was made a collection of a few Indian tribes of the

for a nation (which was founded upon a very

large number of tribes in very different

land."

However the government and the Indians, the same

people and people were the same in the

white country. The people that was taken by

Indians. The government took of the people the

that Chief wanted and the same thing from the

Provo region for two years, having left it when refusing to take part against the whites in the Walker War. His band numbering seventy lodges

"are the most harmless and friendly of any of the Utah Indians," but like all the others were in great distress.

With the same report, a letter from Garland Hurt¹ who had succeeded Holeman enumerated instances of gift-giving which seem to have little significance other than temporarily bought peace. He emphasized that delay in treaty making concerning Indian lands occupied by whites made titles insecure and was very unjust to the Indians causing them to demand tribute.²

Within three days four hundred Indians had visited his camp in the Humboldt Valley, complaining of hunger. Many had travelled a hundred miles without food. At his request the chiefs assembled their people, and from their great desire to establish peaceful relations, the agent thought it best to negotiate with them a written treaty:

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 478 - Note 25.

² Indian Affairs Report, 1855.

"As my expenditures in presents and provisions were larger than may be anticipated, it may be necessary to state the reasons which induced me to make them. It was well understood among the Indians of this Territory, as early as last spring, that large appropriations had been made by Congress for the purpose of making presents to and treaties with them. ... The Snakes complained that they had permitted the white people to make roads through all their lands and travel upon them in safety, use the grass, and drink the water, and never received anything for it, although the tribes around them had been getting presents. Under these circumstances I saw no way to retain their confidence but to meet their expectations. And as they succeeded in making peace among themselves, and renewed their pledges of friendship to the whites, we have reason to hope that harmony will prevail for a season."¹

The results of Agent Hurt's efforts are testified to in Commissioner Manypenny's report of the next year 1856.

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1856, p. 198, et seq.

"The Indians in the Territory of Utah have, with but few exceptions, continued quiet and peaceable ... Agent Hurt, without instructions, entered into an agreement of peace and friendship, as the department was advised in August 1855, with the Shoshone tribe, but the original instrument has never reached here.

"That agent has also taken the responsibility of collecting Indians at three several locations within the Territory of Utah, and commenced a system of farming for their benefit. As the enterprise has not been sanctioned or provided for by appropriations for that purpose, and was believed to involve a larger expenditure than existing appropriations would warrant, without condemning his action in this respect, I have felt constrained to withhold an expression of approval of his course."¹

The farms alluded to were three Indian reservations made by Agent Hurt, viz: one on Corn Creek in Milliard county, another on Twelve-mile Creek in San Pete County, and the third near the mouth of the Spanish Fork in Utah county.²

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1856, p. 16.

² Ibid., p. 225.

The "unsettled condition of governmental affairs" in Utah continued to be the reason given by Commissioner Manypenny for delay in prosecuting negotiations with the tribes there; another reason also was that the Senate had not ratified treaties with the tribes in New Mexico which were similar to those designed by the department for Utah.¹

Utah was at that period the abode of more than forty thousand citizens,² and the highway of travel over the continent, yet the Indians were supposedly still the owners of the land. The number of Indian inhabitants was estimated at twelve thousand.³

other A Lost Opportunity. Complicated and unsettled as were the three cornered relations of Indians, Mormons, and Americans in Utah, the fact stands out that the policy of Congress was a stand-off, aloof one. Superintendent Young and the federal agents by their reports again

¹ Indian Affairs Report, p. 16.

² Senate Executive Documents, 33 Cong., 1st Sess., vol. 1, Doc. 1, p. 259 (690).

³ Ibid.

and again showed the urgency of treating with the Indians, their appeals were again and again ignored. Though the making of treaties and the establishment of farms were in line with the stated general federal policy, as we have seen, ¹ such efforts as were made for these ends were made single-handed by the agents, of their own initiative without support of approval from the government. Agent Hurt's farms were grudgingly allowed to exist. The treaties made were only ² temporary make shift because unratified by Congress.

By failing to render adequate aid to the officers of the Utah superintendency, the government lost an opportunity for federal influence with the Indians who while resenting encroachments on their lands by Mormons were nevertheless disposed to be peaceful and friendly. The Mormons because of this neglect were able to renew their friendship and to increase their influence with the Indians, much to the disadvantage of the United States, as later became more apparent. Observing the indifference of the federal government to the Indians, and the clever

¹ Chapter IV, p. 24.

and again one of the subjects of treating with the
Indians, that subject was again and again treated.
through the making of treaties and the establishment
of Indian reservations in this with the States provided Federal
policy, as we have seen, such efforts as have been
made with some success have been made by the United States
Government. Against these efforts the Government has
allowed to pass, the question of the Indian has been
and will continue to be a subject of discussion.
In dealing with these subjects it is the intention
of the United States Government, the Government of the
United States for the Indian people with the Indian people
existing conditions as they have been in the past
and the future of the Indian people as they are now.
The Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that
the Government of the United States will be seen that

conciliatory methods of the Mormons with them, a Frenchman who was travelling in Utah at this period, thus comments on the situation.

"The Indians, noting the contrast between this (the Mormon policy) and the very different treatment they receive from the Americans, but very rarely molest the Mormons, and to such an extent do they carry their good-will, that the mere fact of a man being one of Brigham's disciples has been a passport amid hordes of savages let ~~loose~~¹ loose against the whites."

Of the relations of the United States and the Mormons more will be noticed subsequently, for in these relations the Indian policy became swamped.

¹
Ramy and Branchley, A Journey to Great Salt Lake
vol. II, p. 248.

essentially a record of the progress with which the
 was the one travelling in this at this period, some
 accounts on the situation.

"The Indians, noting the contrast between this
 (the Indian policy) and the very different treat-
 ment they received from the Americans, and very
 readily noted the difference, and so were in a
 position to say their best will, and the more they
 of a man being one of the best of his kind, and
 from a personal and social of progress for the
 Indians against the whites."

Of the relations of the United States and the Indians
 there will be no need to say anything. For in these relations
 the Indian policy is the same.

and the Indians, a number of Indian and white
 and the Indians, a number of Indian and white

Chapter VII.

THE UNITED STATES AND MORMON HOSTILITIES

While it is not the purpose of this thesis to relate the political history of Utah, a knowledge of the relations between the United States and Mormon governments is necessary to the understanding of the Indian situation. The Utah war of 1857 may be regarded both as an acute expression of federal and Mormon hostility and as a phase of the Indian problem. This war was the culmination of the antagonism between the Americans and Mormons, noticeable in the reports of the Indian agents in Utah, an antagonism which increased as time went on with the Indian land title remaining unextinguished by the government.

The Land Title. As early as 1852, the Mormon legislature sent a memorial to Congress requesting the survey of the southern boundary of Utah.¹ In 1853 we again find allusion to Utah's needs in the President's message to Congress. President Pierce recommended that the

¹ Utah Territory: Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials, March 6, 1852, p. 405.

land system be extended over Utah with such modifications
as the peculiarities of that territory might require.¹

About a year later an act was passed authorizing the ap-
pointment of a surveyor-general for Utah.² In July 1855
David H. Burr arrived in Salt Lake City to enter upon
the duties of that office. In his report covering a
year's work, he wrote:

"The unsettled state of the country makes it
necessary to keep a constant watch over camp and
animals, compelling the surveyor to employ, be-
sides the usual assistants, men to herd the animals
by day and stand guard by night Many of the
corner posts have been removed and the mounds de-
stroyed; this is done in some instances by the
cattle, but more frequently, I regret to say, by
persons either with some evil intent or through
wanton mischief ... I hope, however, when the
settlers learn how important it is to them to per-
petuate these corners that they will see that they
are preserved. Unfortunately at present most of

¹ House Executive Documents, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., vol.
I, pt. I, Doc. 1, p. 12 (690).

² Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 485.

they look upon the surveyors as intruders, and feel¹
inimical to their work.

According to the foregoing accounts it is evident that though the Mormons wanted title to the country, yet they resented the presence of federal authority.

Mr. Burr further wrote:

"The exclusive right to every conceivable canon has been granted by the legislature to the favorites of the Mormon church, who compel the settlers to pay high prices for the privilege of getting their wood from them. They have erected saw mills in many of them, and the timber is fast disappearing."

Mr. Burr submitted an estimate of \$61,000 for expenses incident to the survey of the public lands in the Territory of Utah, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1858.²

Though large tracts were surveyed, the Indian title³ remained unextinguished for a number of years to come.

¹ House Executive Documents, 34 Cong., 3d. Sess. Pt. I, Doc. 1, p. 543 (893).

² Ibid., p. 549.

³ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 485, Utah Territory: Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, March 6, 1852, and Jan. 6, 1862.

But even if the Mormons were ready to purchase and could not legally do so because the government continued to do nothing, they surely did not seek to make matters easier for the government to act.

Mormon Disloyalty Charged. In the Indian Affairs Report of 1857, Dr. Garland Hunt, agent in the territory since February 1855, tells of Mormon missionaries among the Indians:

I have become satisfied that these saints have either accidentally or purposely created a distinction in the minds of the Indian tribes of this Territory, between the Mormons and the people of the United States that cannot act otherwise than prejudicial to the interests of the latter, and what, sir, may we expect of these missionaries? There is perhaps not a tribe on the continent that will not be visited by one or more of them. I suspect their final object will be to teach these wretched savages that they are the rightful owners of the American soil, and that it has been wrongfully taken from them by the whites, and that the Great Spirit has sent the Mormons among them to help them recover their rights.

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 485.

² Whitney, Urson F., History of Utah, vol. I, p. 540.

But even if the Indians were really so ignorant and
 could not possibly be so deceived the Government was
 bound to do nothing, they would still not need to wait
 before making the Government its own.

Report of the Indian Affairs
 Report of 1857, by General Hunt, agent in the territory
 since February 1855, and of Indian Commissioner James

the Indians:

I have heretofore reported that these tribes have
 either unconditionally or partially accepted a mission-
 ary in the midst of the tribes of this terri-
 tory, between the Missouri and the Pacific of the
 United States. These tribes had accepted the mis-
 sionary in the interests of the latter, and were
 not so ignorant of their mission as I have
 in heretofore reported. It is the conviction that will
 not be satisfied by any one of them. I therefore
 think that efforts will be made to reach these tribes
 and that they will not be satisfied with the
 mission, and that it has been very difficult
 to reach them by the river, and that the United
 States has not the means to reach them to help
 them receive their rights.

The missionaries are described as "rude and lawless young men," but the agent does not wish to arouse hostilities against the Mormons, for they "thrive by persecution." "It is possible," he continued "that many of them are loyal in their feelings to the United States, but perhaps this cannot be said of their leaders." He urges that the conduct of the Mormon missionaries be subjected to the strictest scrutiny, and that the 13th & 14th sections of the "Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontier," be properly enforced.

In a postscript he adds that he could only get an interpreter by imploring permission of Young, for all were being used by the missionaries. "I never saw any people in my life so completely under the influence¹ of one man."

The intercourse act of 1834 to which Dr. Hurt alluded and which has been summarized in Chapter IV, provides, section 13,

"that if any citizen or other person, residing

¹ United States Statutes at Large, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., ch. 16; Act of June 30, 1834. Indian Affairs Report, 1857.

within the United States or the territory thereof, shall send any talk, speech, message, or letter to any Indian agent, tribe, chief, or individual, with an intent to produce a contravention or infraction of any treaty or other law of the United States, or to disturb the peace or tranquillity of the United States, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of two thousand dollars or in case any citizen or other person shall alienate or attempt to alienate, the confidence of any Indian or Indians from the government of the United States, he shall forfeit the sum of one thousand dollars."

Section 14 provides for a fine of one thousand dollars for the carrying or delivering of "such talk, messages, speech or letter to or from any Indian agent," and so on.

The act further provides, Section 23,

"that it shall be lawful for the military force of the United States to be employed in such manner and under such regulations as the President may direct, in apprehension of every person who shall or may be found in the Indian country in violation of any of the provisions of this act."¹

¹

United States Statutes at Large, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., Ch. 16; Acts of 33 Cong., 1 Sess; Act of June 30, 1834, 161

Quoting sections 13 and 23 in reference to Agent Hurt's report, Acting Commissioner Charles E. Mix, sent memoranda to the Secretary of the Interior, that it might be necessary

"as a precautionary step to preserve the harmony of our relations with the Indian tribes, to instruct the superintendents, agents, and sub-agents to scrutinize the conduct of Mormons and all others suspected of having a design to interrupt the peace and tranquillity between the Indians and the government."¹

Federal Distrust. The unpopularity of Young with the federal government had been shown when, in 1855 at the expiration of Young's term of office, President Pierce had tendered the appointment of superintendent of Indian affairs and governor of Utah to Colonel E.J. Steptoe. However, he, knowing Young was the people's choice, declined the position, and signed the Mormon Memorial to the President requesting the reappointment of Young.² Finally after the governorship had been refused by several persons, it was accepted by Alfred Cumming in July 1857,

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1857, pp. 307-8.

² Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 492.

who was superintendent of Indian affairs on the Upper
¹Missouri.

About the same time Jacob Forney of Pennsylvania was appointed the superintendent of Indian affairs for
²Utah and so that office was now at last separate from that of governor in accordance with an act for that purpose passed March 3, 1857.
³

In July 1857 the first division of the "army of Utah", which numbered in all about 2500 men, arrived in Salt Lake City, sent by President Buchanan, ostensibly as a posse comitatus to sustain the authority of the newly appointed governor who was to supersede Brigham
⁴Young.

In the report of Secretary of War Floyd for December 3, 1857 was named among the causes for this expedition, in addition to the sedition nature of the Territorial government of Utah, the accusation against the Mormons of encouraging the Indians against immigrants:-

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 500.

² Ibid., p. 539.

³ Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States, vol. XI, p. 185.

⁴ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 495.

The new organization of Indian affairs on the Upper

Missouri.

That the new plan of Indian affairs

was approved by the Department of Indian Affairs for

and in that office was now at 2nd, Missouri 1860

and at present in connection with the new plan

was revised 1861, 1862.

To that end the plan of Indian affairs

was, which was in the year 1860, revised in

1861, and in 1862, and in 1863, and in 1864

as a result of which the plan of Indian affairs

was revised 1865, and in 1866, and in 1867

and in 1868, and in 1869, and in 1870

In the report of Secretary of the War for 1860

and in 1861, and in 1862, and in 1863, and in 1864

and in 1865, and in 1866, and in 1867, and in 1868

and in 1869, and in 1870, and in 1871, and in 1872

and in 1873, and in 1874, and in 1875, and in 1876

and in 1877, and in 1878, and in 1879, and in 1880

and in 1881, and in 1882, and in 1883, and in 1884

and in 1885, and in 1886, and in 1887, and in 1888

and in 1889, and in 1890, and in 1891, and in 1892

and in 1893, and in 1894, and in 1895, and in 1896

and in 1897, and in 1898, and in 1899, and in 1900

"Of late years, a well-grounded belief has prevailed that the Mormons were instigating the Indians to hostilities against our citizens It has, nevertheless always been the policy and desire of the federal government to avoid collision with this Mormon community... But their settlements lie in the great pathway which leads from the Atlantic States to the new and flourishing communities growing upon the Pacific seaboard. They stand a lion in the path ... encouraging, if not exciting, the nomad savages .. to the pillage and massacre of peaceful and helpless emigrant families traversing the solitude of the wilderness.

"From all the circumstances surrounding this subject at the time, it was thought expedient during the past summer to send a body of troops to Utah with the civil officers recently appointed to that territory. As the intention then was merely to establish these functionaries in the offices to which they had been commissioned, and to erect Utah into a geographically military department, the force then despatched and now enroute to the Territory was thought to be amply sufficient for those purposes. Supplies were abundant there, and the position was favorable for holding the Indians in check throughout the whole circumjacent region of country."

[illegible]

In another part of his report Secretary Floyd says:

"The temper and spirit of the Indians are entirely unknown to the War Department, except through communications from the Department of the Interior - which, of course, would never be made except when forces are deemed necessary for the public safety.¹

Superintendent Young's report of 1857, is in part a summary, or a reiteration of the complicated state of Indian affairs in Utah:

"The Indians in Cache Valley have received but little at the expense of the government, although a sore tax upon the people west and along the line of the California and Oregon travel, they continue to make their contributions, and, I am sorry to add, with considerable loss of life to the travellers. This is what I have always sought by all means in my power to avert; but I find it the most difficult of any portion to control.

I have for many years succeeded better than this.

✓ I learn by report, that many of the lives of the emigrants and considerable quantity of property

¹

Senate Executive Document, 23 Cong., 1 Sess., vol. 2, Doc. 11, pp. 12.

have been taken. This is principally owing to a company of some three or four hundred returning Californians who travelled these roads last spring to the eastern states, shooting at every Indian they could see -- a practice which has been indulged to a great extent by travellers to and from the eastern states and California; hence the Indians regard all white men alike their enemies, and kill and plunder whenever they can do so with impunity, and often the innocent suffer for the deeds of the guilty.

"This has always been one of the greatest difficulties that I have had to contend with in the administration of Indian affairs in this Territory.

It is hard to make an Indian believe that the whites are their friends, and the Great Father wishes to do them good, when perhaps, the very next party which crosses their path shoots them down like wolves.

"This trouble with the Indians only exists along the line of travel west, and beyond the influence of our settlements.

"The Shoshones are not hostile to travellers, so far as they inhabit this territory, except perhaps a few called "Snake Diggers," who, inhabit as before stated, along the line of travel west of the

have been taken. This is particularly owing to a company of some thirty or four hundred returning California men who traveled these roads last spring to the extent of several hundred miles every day. They would not be a trouble. . . . which has been taken to a great extent by travelers to and from the western states and California; hence the Indians regard all white men alike their enemies, and will not permit them ever to go to the country, and often the

[illegible]

the line of travel south, and toward the influence of
the trouble with the Indians only exists along

Love stated, along the line of travel west of the
a few miles "Banks Highway", and, indeed as he
far as the Indian title territory extends perhaps
"the Indians are not hostile to Americans, as

settlements

"The report that troops were wending their way to this Territory has . . . had its influence upon them. In one or two instances this was the reason assigned why they made the attacks which they did upon some herds of cattle; they seemed to think if it was to be war, they might as well commence, and begin to lay in a supply of food when they had a chance."

As director of Indian affairs in Utah, Young requested three courses of actions: first, that travellers cease their wanton shooting of Indians, second, that the government make a more liberal appropriation for presents; third, that troops must be kept away, because they excited the Indians.

Young concludes:

"In regard to my drafts, it appears that the department is indisposed to pay them, for what reason I am at a loss to conjecture. I am aware that Congress separated the office of Superintendent of Indian Affairs from that of Governor, that the salary of governor remained the same for his gubernatorial duties, and that

the superintendent's was fifteen hundred. I do think that, inasmuch as I perform the duties of both offices, I am entitled to the pay appropriated for it, and trust that you will so consider it...

"The department has often manifested its approval of the management of Indian affairs in this superintendency, and never its disapproval. Why, then, should I be subjected to such annoyance in regard to obtaining the funds for defraying its expenses."

Severe indeed is the letter of Commissioner Denver in reply to this report of Young:-

"As the superintendent of Indian affairs for Utah Territory it was your duty to keep a supervisory control over the different agents, and to see that they did not exceed their authority. It was your duty ... to keep them within the appropriations made for your superintendency....

"Knowing that money could not be taken out of the treasury without an act of Congress, you have allowed the drafts to exceed the appropriations to the amount of \$31,360.60, to the close of the fiscal year ending

The Department's new position is that it is
 not possible to have a system of
 control which is both efficient and
 economical. I am therefore in the
 position of having to choose between
 the two.

The Department has been asked to
 consider the possibility of having a
 system of control which is both
 efficient and economical. I am
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 to choose between the two.

It is not possible to have a system of
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 position of having to choose between
 the two.

The Department has been asked to
 consider the possibility of having a
 system of control which is both
 efficient and economical. I am
 therefore in the position of having
 to choose between the two.

Yours faithfully,
 J. H. D. [Signature]

June 30, 1857

"You have studiously endeavored to impress on the minds of the Indians that there was a difference between your own sect, usually known as Mormons and the government, and other citizens of the United States; that the former were their friends and the latter their enemies. . . .

"You have been denouncing this government and threatening an armed resistance to the authorities sent out by the President. Indeed, unless you and your coadjutor are most grossly misrepresented and your language misquoted, the appearance of those authorities among you is all that is necessary to prompt you to an overt act of treason." . . .

"The troops are under the direction of the President and it is fair to presume that he would not send them to help Utah Territory unless there was a necessity for so doing and if it be true that wherever the greatest number of troops are, there are to be found the greatest number of hostile Indians, it arises from the fact that the troops are necessary at such places to preserve the peace and to keep the Indians in subjection. . . .

"Your claim for double salary cannot be allowed, for, even if it did not come in conflict with the general rule which forbids the payment of two salaries at the same time to the same person, yet you could not be entitled to it, for the reason that you became superintendent of Indian affairs by virtue of your appointment as Governor of the Territory; and although these offices have since been separated, yet you had not, at the date of your communication, been relieved from the duties appertaining to them. Your other accounts will be examined into, and, whenever it shall be ascertained that the expenditure was properly made, they will be paid, should Congress make an appropriation for that purpose."

Finally, Young's claim of the department's approval is denied by a quotation from one of his previous communications, dated June 26, 1855 he complained:

"For the last two years I have experienced the greatest difficulty in getting my accounts adjusted at the department, and then they have finally been so adjusted that it has been done by suspending and disallowing a great portion thereof."

[illegible]

Inadequate Appropriations of Congress. In answer to these charges and countercharges, the following quotation concerning the financial difficulties in Utah may at this point prove enlightening:-

"Between July 1853 and August 1856, more than eleven million dollars were expended for the re-¹cuperation and acquisition of Indian territory. Of this total less than the three hundredth part of one per cent was paid to the Shoshones and to the Utahs.² For the five years ending June 30th 1855, the sum paid to the Mormons for losses incurred through Indian depredations, for the expense of suppressing Indian outbreaks and of negotiating treaties, amounting probably to not less than \$300,000 was \$95, 940.65, and small as it was, when drafts were presented at the treasury, excuses were found for not paying them. The cost of the Walker-War, apart from losses incurred was \$70,000; this was cut down to \$40,000 after

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 479; Indian Affairs Report, 1856, pp264-7.

² This alludes to the \$3000 paid the Shoshones at the treaty of August 7, 1855.

special agents had been sent to investigate and was not paid till ten years afterwards. A memorial of the Utah legislature for an appropriation to cover the expense of Indian expeditions was referred to the House Committee on Military Affairs, in January 1853. It reported in January 1855 that it had not sufficient data to advise on refunding to Utah her expenses in suppressing Indian outbreaks. In March 1857, the United States voted against a motion authorizing the secretary of war to settle the accounts of Utah Territory for moneys drawn in suppressing hostilities in 1853. The occupation of territory under such conditions was of course resented by the original owners of the soil, and it is no matter of surprise that the small detachment of United States troops lost more in number between the years 1853 and 1856 than did the Mormons.¹

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 479.

Special Agents had been sent to investigate and
was not held till the same afternoon. A Special
of the Irish Legislature for an expedition to cover
the expenses of Indian expeditions was referred to
the House Committee on Military Affairs, in January
1857. It reported in January 1857 that it had not
sufficient data to advise on regarding to Utah and
expeditions to suppressing Indian outbreaks. In March
1857, the United States voted against a motion
authorizing the Secretary of War to raise the no-
counts of Utah Territory for many years in ap-
proaching legislation in 1857. The occupation of
territory under such conditions was of course revealed
by the original intent of the war, and it is no
matter of surprise that the same conditions of
United States troops had been in action before
the years 1857 and 1858 than did the present.

The Position of the Indians. The three cornered situation of federal-Mormon and Indian relations at this time presents itself clearly in Brigham Young's remark to Captain Van Fleet, U.S.A.:—

"If they (the United States) dare to force the issue, I shall not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer for white men to shoot at them; they shall go ahead and do as they please. If the issue comes, you may tell the government to stop all emigration across the continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it."

"If Brigham Young had carried out his threat of letting loose the Indians," says Bancroft, "the United States forces would have been hopelessly outnumbered." ² Here it is evident that in the Indians eyes, the Mormon's Indian policy still remained better than that of the United States.

The Mountain Meadows Massacre. That most unfortunate and tragic horror, the Mountain Meadows Massacre which

¹ Woodruff's Journal Ms. Cited in Bancrofts, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 507.

² Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 510.

The question is the balance. The first concern
is the question of the balance of the
the government is not to be in the hands of the
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occurred at this period was an instance of the Mormons' influence with the Indians. On September 9, 1857, more than one hundred inoffensive emigrants on their way from Arkansas to California were brutally massacred by Indians and Mormons. Under fanatical religious pretenses, the massacre was directed and carried out by Mormons, notably John D. Lee, who incited the Indians to aid in robbing and killing emigrants. ¹ While it is accepted now that the Mormon church had no part in this ² terrible deed, the fact remains that it is a striking instance of the Mormon influence over the Indians and shows how little the Indians had learned to regard the citizens of the United States. However, it is clear from the fact that the government had done so little for the Indians, that the Mormons were not alone responsible for the Indians' lack of loyalty to the United States.

Conclusion Concerning the Utah War. Yet, for all the Mormon sway over the Indians, the influence of a

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1857, p. 369 ff.; Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, 543-571; Whitney, Popular History of Utah, p. 128 ff., 304; Dann, J.P.Jr., Massacres of the Mountains, 272-353.

² Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 544.

occurred at this period was an instance of the influence
 influence with the Indians. On September 7, 1887,
 more than one hundred Indian warriors and their
 from Kansas to California were probably massacred
 by Indians and Mexicans. Indian Missionary religious
 protection, the massacre was directed and carried out by
 Mexicans, notably Juan L. and United the Indians to
 aid in robbing and killing victims. While it is
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 officials of the United States. However, it is clear
 from the fact that the government had been so little
 for the Indians, that the Mexicans were not alone responsible
 for the Indians' lack of loyalty to the United States.
Organization Governing the Indian War.
 All the known way over the Indians, the influence of a

Indian Affairs Report, 1887, p. 252 ff. 1888, 1889,
 Report House, History of War, 188-189, 1890, 1891,
 History of War, p. 188 ff. 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894,
 of the War, 188-189.
 2
 Report, Report House, History of War, p. 244.

loyal federal representative with the Indians is shown in their treatment of Dr. Garland Hurt. Dr. Hurt after martial law was proclaimed by Young on September 15, 1857, was the only gentile official left in Utah. Unwilling to apply to the Mormon leader for a passport, Hurt was on the point of leaving his agency on the Spanish Fork to join the federal camp on the Sweetwater, when he was warned by the Indians that a party of Mormons were going to kill him. He was assisted by friendly Indians in making a very thrilling escape as he described it, concluding:-

"I felt it a duty which I owe to the Utahs to make a fair and candid explanation of these facts; for I doubt if ever an agent of the government in the Indian service witnessed similar attachment for his person, or more loyalty to those laws and regulations which have been instituted for their government, than has been manifested on this occasion."

If the whole federal policy had been as friendly to the Indians as was Dr. Hurt, their devotion would have^{been} not merely for him as an individual but for all

[illegible]

loyal citizens of the Great Father. If, as suggested by the previously cited advice of Commissioner Manypenny, teachers and guides had been sent instead of troops, great things might have been accomplished and respect and trust engendered for federal government.

Congress made the mistake of acting only on the unfavorable reports concerning Mormon activities among the Indians, instead of heeding the crying needs of the Territory, voiced alike by Young and the agents, Mormon and non-Mormon. Studied from the angle of the Indian policy, it becomes clear why the Mormon War of 1857 was called "Buchanan's Blunder." "The Utah War cost several hundred lives, and at least fifteen million dollars . . . and accomplished nothing save that it exposed the President and his Cabinet to much ridicule."¹

What a saving and an honor to the United States if, instead, only a fraction of this sum had been added to the work of solving the Indian problem in Utah. If, instead of attacking the Mormons for teaching the Indians to distinguish in their favor between Mormons and the

¹

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 538.

loyal citizens of the Great Nation. It is suggested
by the previously cited advice of Congress that the
Government and others had been asked to provide
great things might have been accomplished and respect
and trust engendered for Federal Government.

Congress made the mistake of ending only on the
favorable reports concerning Indian activities among the
Indians, instead of heading the crying needs of the Indian
tribes, which allies by treaty and the spirit, which the
non-Indian. Studied from the angle of the Indian policy,
it becomes clear that the Indian War of 1881 was called
"Bushman's War." The Indian War cost several hundred
lives, and at least fifteen million dollars. . . . and
accomplished nothing more than it cost the Government
and his Cabinet to much violence.

What a ending and an honor to the Indian States it,
instead, only a tradition of war and peace which in
the way of saving the Indian people in 1881. IV, in
stand of attacking the Government for attacking the Indians
in distinction in their treaty between Indians and the

Chapter VIII.

RESERVATIONS

Dr. Hurt's Efforts. A more purposeful and constructive policy toward the Utah Indians than heretofore evidenced, is noticeable in the progress of the farms initiated by Agent Garland Hurt in 1856, as recorded.¹ In the Indian affairs report of that year occurs again the old story of trials and troubles, the misery of the Indians, and the consequent attacks on emigrant trains. After a very severe winter, the Indians presented a sad state of destitution, their poverty and distress causing them to commit depredations on the emigrants. It was under this urgency that Dr. Hurt undertook the establishment of farms. His explanation of this undertaking shows the continued indifference manifested towards the Indians, and his apologetic attitude shows the disadvantage under which he was striving in working for a government reluctant to aid. He wrote in part:

¹

See Chapter VI, p.

"I desire to allude .. to the course which has been pursued towards the Indians in the immediate vicinity of the settlements of Utah. Having become fully satisfied of the impracticability of sustaining peaceful relations with these tribes, by a course of policy which, at every step of its progress, was calculated to fill their minds with expectations that could not be realized, and which instead of bettering their condition, tended rather to lull them into supineness, and leave them in the end in a worse condition than they were when we found them, I was admonished of the necessity of adopting some more practical course for their civilization.

"Prior to my report of December 13, 1855, it became evident that our relations with the Utahs were of a most delicate character, and but for the timely intervention of propositions which I made them for designating certain tracts of land as their future permanent homes, and to assist them in opening farms and putting in crops, there is scarcely a doubt that a general state of hostilities would have been commenced before this time, exposing

the exterior settlements to the most savage havoc, and rendering the prosecution of the United States surveys in the Territory impossible without the aid of an armed force. But, without authority from government for making permanent arrangements of this kind, the adoption of such a course was, to say the least of it, assuming high responsibilities. But the only apology I shall offer is, that the circumstances¹ left me without an alternative."

Dr. Hurt's account of the efficacy of the farms, incidentally reveals his disinterested attitude toward the Indians and shows an understanding of their teachable character:

"The most encouraging feature in this new policy is the happy influence it has exerted upon the conduct and condition of the Indians... The frowning aspect of discontent portending mischief has passed away, and a smile of joy now lights their dingy features. ... That he is a being susceptible of civilization and when civilized capable of erecting, sustaining, and perpetuating the institutions of

¹

Indian Affairs Report, p. 231.

The various attempts to the most serious cases
and involving the Government of the United States
and the various attempts to the most serious cases
of an armed force. And, without military force
Government for the various attempts to the most serious cases
this kind, the obligation of such a power was, to say
the least of it, involving high responsibility. And
the only remedy I shall offer is, that the various
attempts shall be treated as a "crime".

Dr. Huxley's answer to the various attempts to the most serious cases
involving the various attempts to the most serious cases
the various attempts to the most serious cases to their various
attempts:

The various attempts to the most serious cases to the most serious cases
to the various attempts to the most serious cases to the most serious cases
that the various attempts to the most serious cases to the most serious cases
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various attempts to the most serious cases to the most serious cases

civilized man, is a desideratum upon the solution of which depends the future policy of government toward him."¹

The Efforts of the Indians. The significant fact about these farms that substantiates Dr. Hunt's hopeful judgment is that the Indians themselves desired them,² and where it was impossible for them to receive aid, undertook farming on their own account with such poor tools as they had. This was true of the Piede Indians in Washington and Iron counties in southern Utah. They showed themselves to be peaceable and industrious and glad of instruction in farming from the citizens, who lent or furnished the tools.³

In Washington county, then the extreme southwest corner of the Territory, the efforts of the Piede Indians who until 1856 were never visited by an agent, were particularly appealing. Suffering misery and famine due to the destruction of their crops by grasshoppers, they

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1856 p. 232.

² Ibid., p. 235.

³ Ibid., p. 234.

divided out, as a consequence upon the admission
of which depends the future policy of Government
towards it."

The Effects of the Indians. The statement that

about three times that which was obtained in 1881, is a
judgment as to the Indian character of the
and where it was impossible for them to preserve it,
understood that the Indians had been driven out of the
tools as they had. This was true of the whole country
in the United States and Iron Mountain in the State of
which was known to be a source of iron ore. The
kind of iron ore in the State of Michigan, the
land on which the tools.

In the United States, then the entire country
north of the Territory, the effects of the Indian
and also the iron ore which was found in the
partially occupied. The iron ore which was found in
to the extraction of iron ore by the Indians, they

Indian Affairs, 1881, 1882.

1881, 1882.

1881, 1882.

yet persevered with great labor and difficulty in cultivating the land. Chief Que--o-gan constructed an irrigating ditch a half mile long, four feet wide and four feet deep. The ditch was dug through a great bed with wooden spades hewn with a knife from cottonwood trees. The dirt was thrown out by the squaws and children with their hands, while the men dug.¹

One chief of a destitute and friendly band of Píedes protested that for years white people had been passing through his land to and from California and he had never received anything for the privilege. The only answer he received, besides a few gifts of clothing, farming implements, seed and tobacco from the agent, was a promise that so long as they remained peaceable the government would have a care that their rights should not be trampled upon.²

Where allowed a test, the hopeful prophecies of the agents interested in the farms found proof of their wisdom and good judgment, as time went on. Agent Armstrong

¹ Indian Affairs-Report, 1856, p. 234.

² Ibid., 235.

the next year, 1857, was surprised at the results achieved by Chief Ammon in Beaver county, in the southwest part of the Territory. With no assistance from white people or government this chief had cleared twenty acres on which wheat was growing after undergoing irrigation. On receiving farming implements from the agent, Ammon intelligently observed that they were a great inducement for further industry, and an evidence of the friendly feeling of the United States. Returning later to the farm the agent found twelve additional acres cleared and planted.

In describing the industry and aptitude of the Indians, particularly the Piedes, Agent Armstrong wrote:

"Other instances of a similar kind might be cited, but I believe sufficient has been given to show that by proper management, in a very few years these red children of the mountains might be made very useful members of society."¹

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1857, p. 309.

The Results of Cooperation. Of the efficacy of Hurt's policy and the sincerity and devotion of his work, Agent Forney, the newly appointed superintendent ¹ gave high testimony in a communication to the department, in December 1857:

"I have examined the report carefully, and have talked with men of unquestionable integrity who have seen the Indian farms, and, so far as I have been able to investigate the matter, justice compels me to bear favorable testimony to the policy of Dr. Hurt, in introducing agriculture among these tribes. Dr. Hurt has undoubtedly given his entire time and energies to improve the condition of the tribes in his neighborhood and has, by his devotion to their interests, endeared himself much to them, and also stimulated other tribes, who have come many miles to visit these farms, and are asking instructions. Dr. Hunt has accomplished all this without any assistance from those around him, but in many instances had to encounter obstacles thrown in his way. "

1

House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. X, Doc. 71, p. 199 (956). J. Forney, Superintendent, December 1857.

THE BUREAU OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst.
and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the
proper authorities for their consideration. It is requested that you
will keep the Bureau advised of the progress of the matter.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. Smith, Major, U. S. Army,
Adjutant General's Office,
Department of the Army,
Washington, D. C.

Of the three farms originally started by Dr. Hunt¹ for the Utahs, Superintendent Forney gave specific accounts in his report of 1858.

Upon the Corn Creek farm in Millard County eighty acres of wheat were raised by the Pah-vants.

The San-Pete farm, well watered and well timbered with a sufficiency of good grazing land, contained one hundred and ninety-five acres of land under cultivation, with a prospective crop of twelve hundred bushels of wheat, besides small quantities of corn and potatoes.

The Spanish Fork farm he found to be an object of controversy with the neighboring numerous Mormon population in Spanish Fork City. "Years ago," wrote Forney, "at the request of the then superintendent (Brigham Young), Agent Hunt commenced the Indian reservation precisely where indicated - has made improvements from time to time at a cost of from \$15,000 to \$20,000, and now, for the first time, is required to give an account of his 'stewardship' to the inhabitants of Spanish Fork City. I am clearly

¹

See Chapter VI, p.

On the other hand originally stated to Mr. Young
for the same, Superintendent Young gave approval
expressed in his report of 1889.
When the same case was in Illinois County circuit
court of which was caused by the Van-Allen.
The Van-Allen case, which related was well treated
with a willingness of good feeling, and was
settled and ninety-five acres of land under cultivation,
with a prospective view of twelve hundred bushels of
wheat, besides small quantities of corn and potatoes.
The same case was taken to be an effect of
controversy with the neighboring Wisconsin National Republic
also in Spanish Fork City. "I said yes," wrote Young,
"at the request of the then superintendent (Mr. Young),
Agent Hunt commenced the Indian reservation
precisely where indicated - has made improvements
from time to time at a cost of over \$10,000 to
\$20,000, and now, for the first time, is prepared
to give an account of his stewardship to the In-
dian Commissioner of Spanish Fork City. I am sincerely

of the opinion that this claim is unfounded, from the letter of Agent Hunt as well as from my own observation. I shall, therefore, proceed to have the reserve enclosed as soon as possible."¹

The superintendent also planned to improve the method of managing the Indian farms by having entirely Indian labor, in place of white labor which had a bad effect on their self dependence, and he strenuously urged more reservations.

"In my opinion," he declared, reservations should be made without delay."

The reservations so far undertaken were all for Utah Indians. Forney observed that the Shoshones were in extreme need. The territory claimed by them included Salt Lake, and the Bear river, Weber river, and Cache valleys, to the east. Nearly all this land was occupied by white settlers under legislative grants.

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1858, p. 211.

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 the letter of Agent Hunt as well as that of the
 observation. I shall, therefore, proceed to have
 the reserve enclosed as soon as possible.¹

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 of managing the Indian farms by having entirely Indian
 labor, in place of white labor which had a bad effect on
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"In my opinion," he stated, "negotiations should
 be made without delay."

The reservation was then undertaken with all the Indian
 Indians. Torrey observed that the prospects were in the
 future need. The territory claimed by these Indian
 Lake, and the Bear River, Weber River, and Great Valley,
 to the east. Nearly all this land was occupied by white
 settlers under legislative control.

"I can learn of no effort having been made to locate any portion of this tribe ... There is no tribe of Indians in the Territory with whom I have any acquaintance that have been so much discommoded by the introduction of a white population as the Sho-Sho-nes. For the past few years they have been compelled to live in the mountains (as the game has all been driven off the lowlands) where the snow frequently falls to such depths as to be destructive to man and beast. But notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they labor ... I cannot learn that they have ever molested any of our citizens, but, on the contrary, have always been friendly."¹

Further testimony to the tractable character of the native occupants of Utah follows in the description of Wash-a-kee, chief of a tribe of twelve hundred Snakes, who roamed the east of the Territory.

"He has perfect command over them, and is one of the finest looking and most intellectual Indians I ever saw. He prides himself that neither he, nor any of

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Indian Affairs Report, 1858, p. 310.

"I can learn of no effort having been made
to locate any portion of this tribe. There
is no tribe of Indians in the Territory now
known I have any acquaintance that have been so
much discredited by the introduction of a white
population as the Gros-Ventures. For the past few
years they have been compelled to live in the
reservations (as the name has all been driven off the
lowlands) where the more frequently failed to reach
the place as to the destination to see and report. But
notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which
they labor ... I cannot learn that they have ever
collected any of our citizens, but, on the contrary,
have always been friendly."

Further testimony to the same effect is
the native accounts of Utah follows in the description
of Wash-Arrow, chief of a tribe of native painted Snakes,
who roamed the east of the Territory.

"He has perfect command over them, and is one of the
finest looking and most intelligent Indians I ever
saw. He speaks Spanish that neither he, nor any of

his tribe, have ever molested a white, although the great overland route from the states to California passes immediately through their country."¹

A little story sustaining his peaceable reputation and indicative of his noble character is told of Wash-a-kee. During his last years, spent on an Indian reservation in Wyoming, President Grant sent him a handsome saddle. The chief was silent in his appreciation and when questioned, replied:

"Whiteman's gratitude is in his head, and the head can speak; Indian gratitude is in the heart, and the heart has no tongue."²

At the time of Superintendent Forney's report, another peace meeting had been effected between the old-time enemies, the Snakes and the Utahs. On May 13, 1856, Wash-a-kee, of the Snakes, and White-eye, Son-a-at, and San-Pitch, of the Utahs with sub-chiefs of the different tribes, and also several Bannack chiefs assembled in council at Camp Scott, and after much talk and smoking, declared peace.

¹

Indian Affairs Report, 1853, p. 312.

²

Whitney, Popular History of Utah, note p. 98.

his wife, have ever collected a wife, although the
 great obstacle came from the state of California
 passed immediately through their country."

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 indicative of his noble character is told of him. When
 during his last years, spent on his Indian reservation in
 Wyoming, President Grant sent him a handsome saddle. The
 chief was silent in his appreciation and when questioned,
 replied:

"Whiteman's gratitude is in his head, and his horse
 own reply; Indian gratitude is in the heart, and
 the heart has no tongue."

At the time of Government Agent's report,
 another peace meeting had been called between the
 old-time warriors, the Shoshone and the Ute. On May 11,
 1888, Washoe, of the Shoshone, and White-eye, Sun-
 and Sun-Water, of the Ute, with the chiefs of the latter
 and tribes, and also several Shoshone warriors, assembled in
 council at Camp Hooker, and after much talk and smoking,
 declared peace.

Indian Affairs Report, 1887, p. 212.
 History, Pioneer History of Utah, vol. 2, p. 20.

Superintendent Forney's observations, plans and activities show that at last reservations, the only alleviation of the unfortunate state of Indian affairs in Utah, had become an active policy of the government in that Territory as well as elsewhere. But this policy should have begun earlier. It came too late to serve the Indians adequately, and to make conditions in Utah secure and peaceful. Also the appropriations should have been more liberal.

Deterrents to Progress. Superintendent Forney continued the plea for a liberal appropriation; more Indians wished work than he had supplies for. Though several new farms were opened in different localities by the year 1859, with Shoshones and Utahs both at work, they were not extensive enough to change the old recurrent troubles of distress among the Indians with consequent depredations upon emigrants.¹

Crop failures, insect pests, and unusually severe winters, added to their crowding out by an ever increasing population, reduced the Indians in Utah to a state of

¹

Indian Affairs Report, 1859, pp. 22, 369.

population, reduced the Indians in Utah to a state of
winters, and to their growing crops as they increased
crop failures, insect pests, and unusually early

agitations and warfare.

troubles of disease among the Indians with consequent

that were not extensive enough to change the old routine

by the year 1885, with Thompson and Upton both at work,

several new farms were opened in different localities

Indians wished very much to have supplies for, though

continued the plan for a liberal appropriation; this

Memorandum to Thompson. Superintendent Jones

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in that Territory as well as elsewhere. For this policy

in Utah, has become an active policy of the Government

allocation of the unoccupied lands of Indian affairs

activities show that at least appropriations, the only

Superintendent Jones, a conservative, firm and

starvation and distress hitherto unequalled in the reports of the agents. It was a common circumstance to find the Indians frozen to death. In addition to their utter misery their degeneration was rapidly being effected by whiskey shops established under the pretense of being "trading posts."¹

Dr. Hurt, whose commission as agent did not expire till August 1858, commented in one of his late reports that

"it seems to be a common error of those who have undertaken to localize and civilize the wild tribes to labor under the impression that time and patience form no part of the system, and are not necessary to its success."²

Dr. Hurt's observation seems to be verified by the fact that it was the presence of the military in Utah rather than the constructive policy of reservations which was relied upon to check outrages; while the animosity of Mormon and United States officials continued as a

¹ Indian Affairs Reports, 1858, pp. 376-377; 1860, p. 170; 1861, p. 21.

² Ibid., 1859, p. 381.

[illegible]

711 August 1966, donated to me by his wife
Dr. Huff, whose collection is now at the

542

"It seems to be a common story of these old days

understand the local and global situation

11-11-61

and returned to the office of the

"SAFETY OF THE FLOODING" 100

Dr. Just's observation shows he was verified by the

1967-1968

addition to your collection of maps

which was used to create outlines; while the university

1980-1981, 1982-1983, 1984-1985, 1986-1987, 1988-1989, 1990-1991, 1992-1993, 1994-1995, 1996-1997, 1998-1999, 2000-2001, 2002-2003, 2004-2005, 2006-2007, 2008-2009, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2014-2015, 2016-2017, 2018-2019, 2020-2021, 2022-2023, 2024-2025, 2026-2027, 2028-2029, 2030-2031, 2032-2033, 2034-2035, 2036-2037, 2038-2039, 2040-2041, 2042-2043, 2044-2045, 2046-2047, 2048-2049, 2050-2051, 2052-2053, 2054-2055, 2056-2057, 2058-2059, 2060-2061, 2062-2063, 2064-2065, 2066-2067, 2068-2069, 2070-2071, 2072-2073, 2074-2075, 2076-2077, 2078-2079, 2080-2081, 2082-2083, 2084-2085, 2086-2087, 2088-2089, 2090-2091, 2092-2093, 2094-2095, 2096-2097, 2098-2099, 2100-2101, 2102-2103, 2104-2105, 2106-2107, 2108-2109, 2110-2111, 2112-2113, 2114-2115, 2116-2117, 2118-2119, 2120-2121, 2122-2123, 2124-2125, 2126-2127, 2128-2129, 2130-2131, 2132-2133, 2134-2135, 2136-2137, 2138-2139, 2140-2141, 2142-2143, 2144-2145, 2146-2147, 2148-2149, 2150-2151, 2152-2153, 2154-2155, 2156-2157, 2158-2159, 2160-2161, 2162-2163, 2164-2165, 2166-2167, 2168-2169, 2170-2171, 2172-2173, 2174-2175, 2176-2177, 2178-2179, 2180-2181, 2182-2183, 2184-2185, 2186-2187, 2188-2189, 2190-2191, 2192-2193, 2194-2195, 2196-2197, 2198-2199, 2200-2201, 2202-2203, 2204-2205, 2206-2207, 2208-2209, 2210-2211, 2212-2213, 2214-2215, 2216-2217, 2218-2219, 2220-2221, 2222-2223, 2224-2225, 2226-2227, 2228-2229, 2230-2231, 2232-2233, 2234-2235, 2236-2237, 2238-2239, 2240-2241, 2242-2243, 2244-2245, 2246-2247, 2248-2249, 2250-2251, 2252-2253, 2254-2255, 2256-2257, 2258-2259, 2260-2261, 2262-2263, 2264-2265, 2266-2267, 2268-2269, 2270-2271, 2272-2273, 2274-2275, 2276-2277, 2278-2279, 2280-2281, 2282-2283, 2284-2285, 2286-2287, 2288-2289, 2290-2291, 2292-2293, 2294-2295, 2296-2297, 2298-2299, 2300-2301, 2302-2303, 2304-2305, 2306-2307, 2308-2309, 2310-2311, 2312-2313, 2314-2315, 2316-2317, 2318-2319, 2320-2321, 2322-2323, 2324-2325, 2326-2327, 2328-2329, 2330-2331, 2332-2333, 2334-2335, 2336-2337, 2338-2339, 2340-2341, 2342-2343, 2344-2345, 2346-2347, 2348-2349, 2350-2351, 2352-2353, 2354-2355, 2356-2357, 2358-2359, 2360-2361, 2362-2363, 2364-2365, 2366-2367, 2368-2369, 2370-2371, 2372-2373, 2374-2375, 2376-2377, 2378-2379, 2380-2381, 2382-2383, 2384-2385, 2386-2387, 2388-2389, 2390-2391, 2392-2393, 2394-2395, 2396-2397, 2398-2399, 2400-2401, 2402-2403, 2404-2405, 2406-2407, 2408-2409, 2410-2411, 2412-2413, 2414-2415, 2416-2417, 2418-2419, 2420-2421, 2422-2423, 2424-2425, 2426-2427, 2428-2429, 2430-2431, 2432-2433, 2434-2435, 2436-2437, 2438-2439, 2440-2441, 2442-2443, 2444-2445, 2446-2447, 2448-2449, 2450-2451, 2452-2453, 2454-2455, 2456-2457, 2458-2459, 2460-2461, 2462-2463, 2464-2465, 2466-2467, 2468-2469, 2470-2471, 2472-2473, 2474-2475, 2476-2477, 2478-2479, 2480-2481, 2482-2483, 2484-2485, 2486-2487, 2488-2489, 2490-2491, 2492-2493, 2494-2495, 2496-2497, 2498-2499, 2500-2501, 2502-2503, 2504-2505, 2506-2507, 2508-2509, 2510-2511, 2512-2513, 2514-2515, 2516-2517, 2518-2519, 2520-2521, 2522-2523, 2524-2525, 2526-2527, 2528-2529, 2530-2531, 2532-2533, 2534-2535, 2536-2537, 2538-2539, 2540-2541, 2542-2543, 2544-2545, 2546-2547, 2548-2549, 2550-2551, 2552-2553, 2554-2555, 2556-2557, 2558-2559, 2560-2561, 2562-2563, 2564-2565, 2566-2567, 2568-2569, 2570-2571, 2572-2573, 2574-2575, 2576-2577, 2578-2579, 2580-2581, 2582-2583, 2584-2585, 2586-2587, 2588-2589, 2590-2591, 2592-2593, 2594-2595, 2596-2597, 2598-2599, 2600-2601, 2602-2603, 2604-2605, 2606-2607, 2608-2609, 2610-2611, 2612-2613, 2614-2615, 2616-2617, 2618-2619, 2620-2621, 2622-2623, 2624-2625, 2626-2627, 2628-2629, 2630-2631, 2632-2633, 2634-2635, 2636-2637, 2638-2639, 2640-2641, 2642-2643, 2644-2645, 2646-2647, 2648-2649, 2650-2651, 2652-2653, 2654-2655, 2656-2657, 2658-2659, 2660-2661, 2662-2663, 2664-2665, 2666-2667, 2668-2669, 2670-2671, 2672-2673, 2674-2675, 2676-2677, 2678-2679, 2680-2681, 2682-2683, 2684-2685, 2686-2687, 2688-2689, 2690-2691, 2692-2693, 2694-2695, 2696-2697, 2698-2699, 2700-2701, 2702-2703, 2704-2705, 2706-2707, 2708-2709, 2710-2711, 2712-2713, 2714-2715, 2716-2717, 2718-2719, 2720-2721, 2722-2723, 27

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hindrance to an effective solution of the Indian Problem.¹

The urgency of immediate action in treating with the Indians was again emphasized to Congress by Agent Humphries, successor to Dr. Hurt, in the following words:

"The lands adapted for cultivation in the Territory are limited, and are those best qualified for the gratuitous support of its original inhabitants, being the only spots upon which they can subsist during the accumulated snows of winter, in the mountains. These localities, if permitted, will all soon be taken up by the white settlers; and what is to be the future destiny of these destitute creatures, is for the wisdom of Congress to determine."

And despite the continued detailed information and practical suggestions which came from those in close touch with the Indians, Congress remained inactive, while the Indians destitute of shelter and dying of want, lost confidence in the government and people of the United States.²

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1859, p. 22.

² Ibid., 1861, p. 1297.

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 evidence as an effective witness of the Indian people.
 The majority of Indians who are treating with the
 Indians are again subjected to Congress by Agent Hughes.
 according to Dr. Hunt, in the following words:
 "The Indians are not for submission in the territory
 are limited, and are those best qualified for the
 protection of the original Indians.
 being the only ones upon whom they can depend
 during the emergency shown at present, in the
 mountains. These Indians, if submitted, will
 all who are taken up by the white soldiers and that
 is to be the future destiny of these Indians."
 However, in the opinion of Congress to determine,
 and thereby the continued detailed information and
 physical suggestions with new laws in mind
 with the Indians, Congress retained Indian, while
 the Indians have to suffer and dying in great loss
 continues in the Government and people of the Indian
 States.

Indian Affairs Bureau, 1887, p. 101.
 1887, p. 101, p. 102.

Inadequacy of Appropriations. The amount disbursed in Utah for Indian purposes from 1853 to July 1858 was, according to the Commissioner's report of the latter year, \$172,000.¹

This sum, averaging less than thirty-five thousand dollars a year for a period of five years, is at once shown to be inadequate in face of Superintendent Davies' careful estimate of \$100,000² for the needs of the Utah Indians in the year 1861. Moreover the complaint had long ago been voiced that Utah received less than other agencies where labor and expenses were no more arduous³ or costly than in Utah.

Not until 1860 did Congress apparently recognize the insufficiency of its appropriations, when it voted \$53,007.35

"to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for payment of the late Indian agents in Utah (Hurt, Armstrong, Rose and Bedell) upon settlement of their accounts."

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1858, p. 9.

² Ibid., 1861, p. 133.

³ House Executive Documents, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol.X, Doc.2, p.154 (956).

In the same year \$45,000 was also appropriated for general expenses; and \$1,200 for surveying and mapping four farms and reservations. These sums made the largest total for any one year up to that date, and until 1864, when again a deficit of \$15,000 was voted, in addition to other items, as recorded in the Statutes at Large of the United States¹ for these years.

Unfortunately, financial affairs were made worse by the mismanagement of Superintendent Forney who allowed debts to accrue to the extent of injuring the credit of the department. Superintendent Forney was removed and from September 1859 to November 1860 Utah was without a superintendency because of the delay of his successor in reaching his post. In sheer desperation Agent Humphries went personally to Washington to plead for the Indians in 1860. There he got five thousand dollars, which paid the debts and brought some relief in the form of food and clothes to the Indians.²

¹ Statutes at Large of the United States, Vol. X, p. 330; Vol. XI, pp. 79, 183, 698, 400; Vol. XII, pp. 19, 58, 237, 629, 791, 792, 793; Vol. XIII, p. 558.

² Indian Affairs Report, 1861, p. 140 et seq.

Mormon Appeals. In 1861 and again in 1863, the Utah legislature sent memorials to Congress requesting action. In the memorial of 1861, dated January 18, the Mormons reminded Congress that:

"Indians in this Territory have never received any compensation from the United States for the soil occupied by the citizens; in consequence thereof the settlements are subjected to constant annoyances from the natives, who regard the settlers as intruders upon their lands"

And they also expressed their opinion concerning the farms:

"The location of Indian reserves and opening farms thereon, within the settlements, so far as benefiting the Indians is concerned, has proved an entire failure. The reserves are "intolerable nuisances" - badly managed, so that Indians still plunder.

"The location of the Indians in the upper valleys of the Sevier River would remove them from

the vicinity of the settlements, and to award them a just compensation for their lands occupied by the whites would afford an annuity sufficient to supply their wants."¹

The memorial of 1863 dated January 6 requested an act authorizing treaties with Indians and the extinguishment of the Indian title to agricultural lands and for Indians.² This was substantially a repetition of a memorial addressed to Congress, ten years before, in March 1853.

As to the Mormon accusation that the farms were failures, that opinion was indeed not unjust, for though Congress had, as it were, been jolted into making appropriations they were so inadequate that the San Pete farm was abandoned as worthless in 1860;³ and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs declared in his report of 1863:

¹ Acts, Resolutions and Memorials, Utah Legislature, Tenth Session, 1861, p.41.

² Ibid., Eleventh Session, 1862, p. 55.

³ Indian Affairs Report, 1861, p. 140.

The Ministry of the Interior, in order
to be able to supply their needs,
has a special commission for that purpose
and the water supply is carefully
regulated to supply their needs.

The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for
the water supply of the cities and the villages
and the water supply of the cities and the villages
is regulated to supply their needs.
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"Indian service in Utah cannot be otherwise than discreditable to the government, unless Congress shall by liberal appropriations enable our agents to conduct operations upon a scale in some measure corresponding with the absolute necessities of the Indians under their charge."¹

And even as late as 1864 came the time-worn appeal:

"The farmer, with the plough, hoe and axe will, if used at the first, be more efficient in keeping peace on our frontier than the soldier with cannon, musket, and bayonet..."²

The Indians themselves, moreover, desired treaties. In consultation with both Shoshone and Utah chiefs the Superintendent (Wood) found them fully intelligent of the nature and effect of a treaty, and moreover, they expressed their willingness to cede to the United States all the lands they claimed in the Territory, with the exception of reservations necessary for their homes, and, in addition, small annuities.³

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1862, p. 33.

² Ibid., 1864

³ Ibid., 1861, p. 136.

Congress in 1862 made an appropriation for the purpose of negotiating treaties with the Indians of Utah. A commission was appointed to effect the negotiation, consisting of Superintendent Doty, Agent Mann, and Henry Martin.¹

Superintendent Doty, with General Connor, commanding officer of the Utah military department, made oral treaties with various Utah bands, being without instructions from the department. Consequently their work was of only a very temporary character, to secure peace for the moment.²

Warfare Again. Meanwhile, the opportunity to make good with the reservations had been so long neglected that from 1857 to 1862 outbreaks were of frequent occurrence and were only successfully resisted by volunteers. In 1862, Connor put down, with terrific slaughter, the Shoshones and Bannacks in Northern Utah, where for fifteen years the northern tribes had infested the overland mail route. In the same year Colonel G. S. Evans defeated the Utahs in an outbreak near the Spanish Fork.³

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1862, p. 32.

² Ibid., 1862, p. 393.

³ Bancroft, Huber Howe, History of Utah, p. 630.

On October 10, 1955, there was a meeting of the
 purpose of organizing activities with the Bureau of
 U.S. A. Commission was organized to assist the
 recognition, coordination of independent left, right,
 and many families.

Organizationally, with General Gurnea, commanding
 officer of the U.S. Military Department, and other families
 with various U.S. and, being without assistance from
 the department. Consequently, their work was of only a
 very temporary character, in order to see the work.

Further Action

also good with the organization and the 1955 activities
 that from 1955 to 1956, the work was in the same manner
 and was fully coordinated with the organization.
 1955, General Gurnea, the military department, the
 and families in the U.S. and, with the 1955 year
 the military department and, with the 1955 year
 in the same year General Gurnea, the military department
 an activity was the first in 1955.

1. Initial Visit to Mexico, 1955, p. 22.

2. The U.S. and Mexico, 1955, p. 23.

3. General Gurnea, the military department, 1955, p. 24.

Treaties. In October 1863, the commission succeeded in concluding treaties with the Shoshones and Bannacks, whereby travel on the principal route to Nevada and California was rendered secure. The stipulations were faithfully observed and the Indians received in return an annuity of foods of the value of \$21,000 for a term of twenty years.¹ The governor of Utah, in his message to the legislature, December 12, 1864, said:

"These were the first treaties ever made by the United States with the bands of Shoshones, and it is somewhat remarkable that they have adhered to their stipulations with a fidelity equal to that of *a* most civilized nation."²

The Uintah Reservation. In January 1864, a memorial was received from ^{the} legislature of Utah asking that the smaller reservations might be surveyed and opened to the whites for settlement. By acts of Congress, May 5, 1864, provision was made for their

¹ Indians Affairs Teport, 1864, p.16; Bancroft, History of Utah, p. 634.

² Utah: Journal of the Legislature, 1865, pp.11-12, cited in Bancroft, History of Utah, p.634, note.

1901. In October 1901, the Commission

was held in connection with the 1901 Census and the results of the census were published in the form of a report.

The results of the census were published in the form of a report. The results of the census were published in the form of a report. The results of the census were published in the form of a report.

1901, said:

There were two main reasons for the

the census being held in 1901, and the

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survey, for the extinguishment of the Indian title to the lands and their opening to settlement, and for the permanent reservation of the Uintah Valley as a home for the Indians of Utah. An appropriation of \$30,000 was also made for the purpose of preparing homes on the reserve for those Indians who should be removed to it, and for aiding them in becoming self-supporting by means of agriculture.¹

The Uintah Valley had been by order of President Lincoln set apart for the exclusive occupation of the Indians as early as October 1861, but because of the imperfect geographical knowledge of the country, the exact limits could not be defined.² The next important step before the government was pointed out to be the survey of this area; any white settlers on the tract must move.

In June 1865, Superintendent Irish accomplished a great work in convening the leading men of the various tribes of Utah, and making a treaty with them by which they consented to remove within one year to Uintah Valley

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1865, pp.150, 151; United States Statutes at Large, Treaties and Proclamations, Vol.XIII, p.63.

² Kappler, Charles J., Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, Vol.I, p. 900.

and cede their right of occupancy of all other lands in the Territory, receiving as compensation \$25,000 annually for the first ten years, \$30,000, for the next twenty,¹ and \$15,000 for the thirty years thereafter.

The treaty ceded nearly the whole of Utah territory, excepting only the Uintah Valley, and a strip along the south end of the Territory, belonging to the very poor Pi-edes, who later were persuaded to cede it.

The appropriations were to be made on the supposition that the Indian tribes would muster 5,000 souls, and were to be increased or diminished in proportion to their numbers. Annuities were also to be granted to the chiefs, dwellings erected for them, and lands ploughed, enclosed, and supplied with live stock and farming implements. A school was to be maintained for ten years, during the nine months in the year, grist and lumber mills and mechanics' shops were to be built and equipped at the expense of the government, and \$7,000 voted annually for ten years in aid of various industries. The Indians were to be protected on their

¹

United States Statutes at Large, Vol. XIII, p. 432.

and were their lands of company of the other lands in
the Territory; receiving an appropriation of \$100,000 annually
for the first ten years, \$50,000 for the next twenty,
and \$25,000 for the thirty years thereafter.

The treaty ceded nearly the whole of Utah Territory,
excepting only the Utah Valley, and a strip along the
south end of the Territory, belonging to the Fort Grant
Placitas, who later were permitted to settle it.

The Protestant treaty was to be made on the condition

that the Indian tribes would transfer all their lands and
to be increased or diminished in proportion to their numbers.
Indians were also to be permitted to the United States
within the time, and lands adjacent, and to be supplied
with live stock and farming implements. A school was to
be maintained for the Indians; and the same was to be
paid, and the same was to be maintained, and the same was to
be maintained and equipped at the expense of the government,
and \$5,000 were annually for the same. The same was to be
maintained. The Indians were to be maintained in this

United States Government of 1849, Vol. 1, p. 422.

reservation, must not make war except in self defence; and must not steal or if they did, the stolen property must be returned, or its value deducted from their annuities. Under these stipulations, though the treaty was not formally ratified many of the Utahs were gathered and dwelt in peace on the reservations.¹

¹ Indian Affairs Report, 1865, pp.19, 151, et seq.; Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 635.

they were nearly all unusually tractable, even docile, submitting the whites only under stress of famine. Their country was a favorable locality in which to deal with them, geographically considered, for it afforded opportunities for agricultural development sufficiently remote from white civilization to admit of a definite policy of action in their behalf.

It was in 1865, that five years elapsed from the time of the establishment of the Utah Superintendency before even temporary farms were started for the Indians. And was it that, even then, the agents had to urge Congress again and again for adequate means to carry on stock which, though in line with Federal policy elsewhere, was really in Utah independently initiated by the Federal agents? Why, before the United Reservation was finally provided for

...was not asked or invited to, the whole process was
 he returned, or the whole subject was left unmentioned.
 Under these circumstances, it is not possible
 settled way of the body was gathered and sent in
 passed on the commission.

1
 Indian Affairs Report, 1882, No. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

CONCLUSION

The study of the reports of Indian affairs in Utah from 1848 to 1865 does not lead to happy conclusions concerning the federal Indian policy in that territory. Summing up ^{aw} ₁ affairs, what were the conditions, favorable and unfavorable ✓ in Utah? Taking the Indians themselves first, we find that they were nearly all unusually tractable, even docile, attacking the whites only under stress of famine. Their country was a favorable locality in which to deal with them, geographically considered, for it afforded opportunities for agricultural development sufficiently remote from white civilization to admit of a definite policy of action in their behalf.

Why was it then, that five years elapsed from the time of the establishment of the Utah Superintendency before even temporary farms were started for the Indians? Why was it that, even then, the agents had to urge Congress again and again for adequate means to carry on work which, though in line with federal policy elsewhere, was really in Utah independently initiated by the federal agents? Why, before the Uintah Reservation was finally provided for

EXHIBITION

The study of the reports of Indian Affairs in 1881 from 1881 to 1882 does not seem to supply additional information concerning the Federal Indian policy in that territory. Summing up affairs, what were the conditions, prospects and outlook in 1881? Taking the Indian Affairs first, we find that they were nearly all honorably treated, even better, within the limits only under stress of famine. Their country was a territory locally in which to hold the land, geographically considered, for it afforded opportunities for agricultural development sufficiently large to make civilization an end of a definite policy of action in their behalf.

Why was it that, when the reports reached from the time of the establishment of the first representative bodies even temporary laws were passed for the Indians? Was not it true, even then, the reports had to show Congress ready and again for change in order to carry on work which, though in line with Federal policy elsewhere, was really in line independently initiated by the Federal agents? Why before the United States and finally provided for

in 1864, were the Indians, in the meantime, permitted to starve and die and lose their lands by the encroachment of white settlers? Why did the government wait seventeen years before making treaties with the Indians to extinguish their title to the land in Utah. And, why, meanwhile were mutual depredations of whites and Indians allowed to go on?

No previous foreign civilization existed to a degree to cause embarrassment in dealing with the Indians, as in the Spanish country further to the south and west. Here for the most part were capable and conscientious federal officials, notably Dr. Garland Hurt; the reports of the agents kept the government informed of what was taking place in the territory. These facts, would seem to indicate that the United States had in truth an unusual opportunity to make effective the best provisions of the already existing Indian policy at large, relative to treaties, as well as to overcome such specific difficulties as might appear.

Though there were many conditions favorable to successful Indian policy in Utah there was one especially unfavorable phase of the situation and that phase outweighed all advantages. Utah was, of course, frontier,

in 1904, when the Indians, in the meantime, purchased
to share and his and some other lands by the go-
vernment of white settlers. By 1910 the government
with seventeen years before making treaties with the
Indians to extinguish their title to the land in Utah.
and, etc., meanwhile were actual beneficiaries of white
and Indians allowed to be cut
to purchase foreign citizenship decided to a degree
to cause embarrassment in dealing with the Indians, as
in the Indian country farther to the south and west.
Have for the past two years occupied and considerable loss
officials, mainly Dr. Oxford White. The reports of the
agents sent the government informed at what was taking
place in the territory. These facts, would seem to
indicate that the United States had in mind an unusual
opportunity to make effective the best provisions of
the already existing Indian policy at hand, relative
to treaties, as well as to overcome such economic
difficulties as might appear.
Though there were many conditions favorable to
enforced Indian policy in 1910 there was one especially
unfavorable phase of the situation and that phase was
caused by education. That was, of course, the

and the usual frontier difficulties of the west, the severe winters, the bad roads, delayed mails and other similar trials, could no doubt have been easily met had there not been over and above all, the political and religious hostility between the Mormon and the United States governments.

In exoneration of this country's "century of dishonor," it has been pointed out that the ever changing frontier made the Indian problem too big and confused for the United States to solve; that she did not neglect; she simply did not understand.¹

It cannot be said, surely in the case of Utah that she did not neglect; and whether failure to understand can be considered an explanation or not is a question. It is evident that in Utah the mutual hostility of Mormons and the United States was the cause of the neglect and delay of the federal government to solve the Indian problem there. The Mormons indeed made themselves a decided hindrance in treating with the Indians. On the

¹ Ellison, Wm. H., Federal Indian Policy in California, MS. in University of California. Introduction.

and the usual protective legislation of the time, the
 several States, the Federal Government, and other
 similar bodies, would no doubt have been ready to
 act in case of any such emergency, the political
 and religious feeling between the States and the
 United States Government.

In connection with this country's history of re-
 sistance, it has been pointed out that the very thing
 that has made the Union possible was the fact that
 for the United States to survive, the States must
 have the right to be independent.

It cannot be said, surely in the case of this
 the United States, and without rights to independence
 can be considered as a nation or not, is a question.
 It is obvious that in the United States of Amer-
 ica and the United States, the power of the States
 and that of the Federal Government is what the States
 and the United States are. The States are the
 United States. The States are the United States.
 The States are the United States. The States are the
 United States. The States are the United States.

other hand, the United States was not sufficiently ¹ interested in a group of settlers regarded as un-American and unpatriotic, to make appropriations and plans adequate for the establishment of those people in a new Indian country - a country which "had been abandoned to the Mormons for its worthlessness." Consequently the Indians suffered. That this one unfavorable circumstance should have outweighed the better conditions in Utah is indeed not a happy conclusion concerning the management by Congress of the Utah Indian policy. Still more unfortunately it seems to agree with our failure in general to make the federal Indian policy a success in a humane and systematic manner. For, showing a general indifference to Indian affairs the United States from 1837 till the Civil War made no codification of Indian treaties, and allowed the law of tribal relations to remain scattered through a thousand volumes of government documents.²

And speaking of the federal Indian policy in general, Commissioner Dole in the Indian Affairs Report of 1864,

¹ Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of Utah, p. 453.

² Paxson, F.L., The Last American Frontier, p. 299.

[illegible]

wrote:

"In spite of the usufruct right of Indians supposedly guaranteed them in our administration our relations have been dictated by circumstances rather than by a well-settled policy."

Thus it appears that aside from the complication of affairs due to the presence of the Mormons. Utah presented little concerning the Indians that was new and difficult of solution, and the failure of the government to maintain peace and order there, after assuming responsibility in 1848, is proportionately disappointing and distressing.

¹

Indian Affairs Report, 1864, p.3.

1907

"The right of the American people to know
 the truth about the activities of the
 Government in the United States and
 abroad is a right which is as old as the
 Republic. It is a right which is as
 fundamental as the right of free
 speech and free press. It is a right
 which is as essential to the
 maintenance of our democratic
 institutions as the right of
 universal suffrage. It is a right
 which is as important to the
 preservation of our national
 security as the right of
 military service. It is a right
 which is as vital to the
 well-being of our people as the
 right of life, liberty and
 the pursuit of happiness."

Letter to the Editor, 1907, p. 1.

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